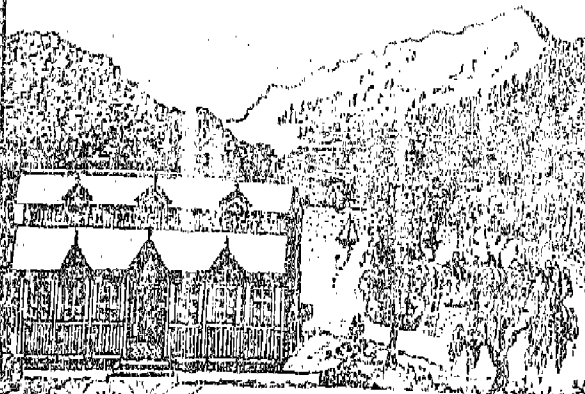




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THE LAST ILLUSION

America's Plan For World Domination

By **HERSHEL D. MEYER**

When Nikita Khrushchev recently remarked that "the Geneva spirit causes indigestion in certain quarters," cold-war warriors in India took that to be Kremlin's new move to woo India into its parlour. If certain body of public opinion in this country was inclined to accept this view, it was not so much due to an uncritical confidence in its authors as due, indeed, to the infinite confusion that surrounds the cause and origin of the cold war itself.

Dr. Meyer's book wades through a maddening jungle of cold war literature and spots its origin in the inherent contradictions of an over-ripe system of world imperialism. The wealth of data which Dr. Meyer has marshalled from authoritative sources serves vigorously to illustrate the truth being advanced by the camp of peace and democracy. The deepening general crisis and fatal symptoms portending the knell of world imperialism is elaborated with massive evidence and within a political context which brings into sharp relief the new opportunities emerging for strengthening the struggle for world peace.

No single volume in English takes up and replies to the propaganda themes of Big Business war-makers in as effective a manner as this work. Thoughtful Indians will find this revised Indian edition of Dr. Meyer's popular book indispensable toward a better understanding of world events.

THE LAST ILLUSION

THE LAST ILLUSION

AMERICA'S PLAN FOR
WORLD DOMINATION



Hershel D. Meyer



PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE LTD
NEW DELHI

October 1955

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FIRST U.S. PRINTING: FEBRUARY 1954

FIRST INDIAN PRINTING: NOVEMBER 1955

Durga Sah Municipal Library,
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Received on August 63

SEVEN RUPEES EIGHT ANNAS

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY D. P. SINHA FOR PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING
HOUSE, LTD., AT NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 6/4, ASAF ALI ROAD,
NEW DELHI,

FOR DORA
Poet of Peace

— 1891 —
LONDON:
W. B. ELLIS, 10, ST. MARK'S LANE.
1891.

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PREFACE

CAN WE HAVE a lasting peace? Is a third World War inevitable? Today these questions are asked by millions in every part of the globe. It is uppermost in the thoughts of every American. Specifically: Can the United States and the Soviet Union settle their differences by peaceful negotiations, or must they clash in an armed conflict?

Obviously, no one can avoid seeking an answer to this crucial problem. Our own political leaders and military experts admit that such a war would bring terrifying devastation to America. Some talk blandly of forty to fifty million dead and wounded American men, women and children. And even these horrifying sacrifices, they admit, would not lead to victory.

One would imagine that the mere scope of the danger confronting us would preclude a fatalistic attitude. How then can advanced and civilized peoples accept another World War as inevitable?

Yet—inevitable war is the course we have embarked upon. "We must arm to the teeth!" "Peace through strength!" These are the slogans of our present day policy-makers. This is what the German, French and British rulers shouted between 1910 and 1914, before they launched World War I. This, too, is what the German cartelists promised their people between 1934 and 1939, on the eve of World War II.

The piling up of armaments, history has shown again and again, is a declaration of national bankruptcy, ultimately leading to war.

Must this be so? Must we in America go on arming, finally to become the victims of our own death factories?

Can we not reach an agreement with the USSR to dump the atom and hydrogen bombs into the world's oceans instead of holding them suspended over the world's cities?

Indeed, why should the American, Russian or Chinese peoples seek to massacre one another? Which of these peoples or their leaders are in such desperate straits as to look for war as a means for survival? What issues divide Missouri farmers or Ohio workers from those of the Don or Yangtze valleys? In what way does the prosperity of one conflict with that of the other?

There was a time when men thought that human sacrifices would bring rain, that burning witches would stop plagues. Tribes in ancient times fought for pasture lands and wells. War crusades were organized to capture slaves. Wealth and abundance, it was said, depended on the pillage of foreign lands. In modern times, the rulers of Germany, Japan and Italy declared: "We are 'have-not' nations," and claimed that their insufficient territories and resources justified their war drive.

Today we know that it is not the amount of territory, natural resources or labour power, as such, which determine a country's actual wealth or living standards. Actually, they are determined by production methods and production relations—the degree to which modern science and technology are utilized for the general welfare. Modern science can turn almost any substance—even sand and sea water—into a thousand useful products. Electric power plus machinery converts air into fertilizer, coal into oil and rubber, weeds and countless other plants into cloth or plastics stronger than steel. Soil fertility can be multiplied many times over. There is almost no corner of the globe where limitless hydro-electric, solar and atomic energy cannot be tapped to raise living standards.

The truth is, the world is now on the threshold of an era of enormous technological change, the social effects of which will surpass even those that followed the Industrial Revolution. Moreover, this new technology, if extended and operated for the maximum benefit of society as a whole, is capable of furnishing an unlimited abundance of practically all

articles of human consumption and at ever lower cost in terms of human labour.

The "American dream" has been one of freedom from want and coercion, of growing output, abundance, and security for all. It took the American people more than a century of toil to clear the wilderness; another to build the railroads and basic industries. Today, our industrial output exceeds that of all other capitalist countries combined. Our farms can provide food for a population many times the size of ours. It has been estimated that, if fully utilized, our present day industrial plant could turn out some five hundred billion dollars' worth of goods. Even allowing one hundred billion for further expansion of industry, it would provide an annual average income of \$10,000 for every American family. Furthermore, with a hundred billion dollars set aside annually for expansion, American workers and scientists could easily double that output within five to seven years. At this rate, by 1960 practically every American family could boast of an annual income of at least \$20,000.

Why then are we told that our well-being—nay, even our very survival—depend on the kind of government that rules Italy, or Pakistan, or Viet-Nam? Why must the vast majority of our people continue to struggle for a mere subsistence? Why do economic insecurity, fear and worry exact a greater toll in crushed and agonized lives today than a generation ago? What is perverting science to serve inhuman ends, to build ever more diabolical instruments to wipe out human life?

The standard reply to these questions is: "Soviet aggression." But whether or not one believes in the existence of such a threat, it does not explain why every decade of this century has been marked by recurring crises, by continuous war preparations and bloodshed. Why, in the last hundred years, have the West European nations, Japan and the U.S. waged more than one hundred wars and military campaigns? Why did the industries of these countries stagnate when not stimulated by war orders?

Whatever one's political views, we can no longer avoid

seeking an answer to these questions. At stake is the survival, not of Russia or of China, but of our own country. We are all passengers on the same boat. The threatening storm will affect all of us alike, regardless of political or other differences. We cannot escape its consequences by acquiescence to fear and ignorance. Clinging to hidebound prejudice will not alter the actual state of affairs in the present day world.

No nation, however strong, can safely disregard truth and reality for long. Ignorance can prove fatal. Will glib phrases about "peace through strength" alter the fact that armament races always lead to war? Can boasts and bravado about American power alter the fact that we are a nation of only 160 million, without any reliable allies, and far more vulnerable to atomic- and hydrogen-bomb devastation than Russia or China?

This book examines the causes and symptoms of the overall crisis now confronting us, and the way in which these are reflected in the plans and actions of our leaders and in the world-wide contest between the forces of war and peace.

The main argument of the book is put forward in four parts. The first part deals with the nature of the forces moving to precipitate a third World War. The second discusses the changing situation in the colonial countries, the impact of the Chinese revolution, the Korean war, and the changing political climate within the U.S.A. The analysis of the Korean war brings into focus the major dilemmas of U.S. foreign policy. The third part deals with the forces tending to make a third World War either impossible to launch, or at least increasingly difficult to provoke.

The final part is a warning that a fantastic, last-ditch type of war strategy, based on destruction without victory, is already being blueprinted. The inevitable and dire consequences of this plan, and our grave responsibility to prevent it, are summarized in the last chapter.

It is a basic premise of this work that it lies within the power of the American people to intervene on the side of world peace and co-existence. Such intervention, however,

presupposes, first, an awareness and non-underestimation on their part of the nature and magnitude of the forces working relentlessly for unleashing a third World War. Second, a realization on the part of America's workers, farmers, professionals and small businessmen of the scope and strength of the world peace forces, and that their cooperation and alliance with the world peace movement would make the winning of a lasting world peace both real or tangible. It is the purpose of this study to heighten this awareness by demonstrating *both* these aspects of the present world situation.

HERSHEL D. MEYER

Chapter I

Part One

The Fatal Symptoms

THE YEAR 1950 marked the close of the first half of the twentieth century, the passing of the stormiest and most violent epoch in human history. Although separated by a mere 50 years, the beginning of the century in 1900 seemed far off. The pace and rhythm of events of that earlier day, when measured by the flaring turbulence of our time, seems almost dull and trifling. On the surface, the world then appeared so "homogeneous," so "peaceful." Congenial kings and tsars, banks, investment and trading companies, capitalist private initiative, held sway over the entire globe.

Of course, there were some conflicts and discords, but they appeared rather "trivial" compared to later developments. A "small" war raged in South Africa between the Boers and the British; the Balkans were referred to as a "powder keg"; Japan was moving toward Korea and the Russian Far Eastern provinces. The U.S., having conducted a well-advertised but not very bloody war against Spain, was fighting a less public but bloodier war against the Filipinos. Germany was lusting for British trade and colonies. In China, British and American regiments conducted a "law-and-order" campaign by slaughtering "rebellious coolies." There were some young Marxist parties and a rising working class movement, but nothing the Romanov, Hapsburg, or Hohenzollern gendarmerie could not cope with. The founda-

tions of the world capitalist system appeared secure. The pound exchanged for about five dollars; the franc, the lira, and the drachma equalled a given weight of solid gold. The Bank of England, like the Banque de France, was "as sound as the Rock of Gibraltar." The world potentates gaily toasted the new century, confidently looking forward to an era of unimpaired security and prosperity.

By mid-century, very little remained of the spirit of those "halcyon" days. Two world wars and a series of great revolutions had swept many dynasties and vested interests out of power. The face of the globe had changed. Over one-third of mankind had abandoned the capitalist system. Everywhere social change was moving at an ever faster tempo. Capitalism the world over was on the defensive. The thoughts and activities of its leaders centred on the question of "survival," on checking the downfall of private enterprise and the rise of socialism.

Today, in mid-century, the world is no more a unified whole, but is divided into socialist and capitalist sectors. This cleavage now permeates every phase of life in every town and hamlet on earth. Each system asserts its superiority over the other. However, the one thing that is becoming increasingly evident is the difference between the two worlds in their general mood and outlook. Whatever one may think of the socialist world, one must acknowledge that its leaders and writers constantly speak of peace, of endless social development, and of creating conditions of unlimited abundance. Judging by their declarations, it would seem that they are possessed by a boundless faith in reason, science and humanity. Thus: "Of all the valuable capital the world possesses the most valuable, most decisive capital is people." (Stalin in *Problems of Leninism*) "We are living in wonderful times—in times of great construction, extraordinary discoveries.... Our beautiful times are full of the romance of the creation of the new, full of great dreams. ... We know the future is ours! We are building it ourselves and it shall be beautiful." (Vasily Zakharenko, *Travels Into Tomorrow*)

On October 5, 1953, G. M. Malenkov declared: "Our

mighty homeland is in its prime and is advancing toward new successes. We possess everything that is necessary for building a complete Communist society. The natural wealth of the land of Soviets is inexhaustible. Our state has demonstrated its ability to utilize this tremendous wealth for the benefit of the working people. The Soviet people have demonstrated their ability to build the new society and they look with confidence to the future."

The general mood and temper in the capitalist sector of the world is in sharp contrast. Wherever one turns—gloomy, pessimistic avowals, a pervading sense of doom. And if the mood and temper of a society and the ideals it puts forward are a reflection of its state of health then ours would seem quite ill.

The "Awful Spectacle"

A few typical examples. William G. Carleton, Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida, wrote: "Not since the declining days of the Roman Empire have such universal dread and despair gripped the minds of the West Men look upon this awful spectacle of the declining world and their mood is dominantly one of escape."

Henry Ford II: "I don't know where we are going. I wish I did. I am not at all sure of the frame of mind of the people. There are two obvious places we could go. One is to war. The other is broke. There ought to be some way to get back to the kind of competitive economy... with freedom to trade, buy and sell in the marketplace."

Others, like Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, less candid than Henry Ford, speak of the human soul. Says Dulles: "There is confusion in men's minds and corrosion of their souls.... No FBI, however efficient, can protect us under these circumstances.... Something has gone wrong with the nation or we should not be in our present plight and mood."

Various bellwethers in universities, churches and stock

exchanges sniffed the bad odour, diagnosed that something was rotting, and called for moral courage. Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago, declared: "Civilization is doomed... unless we can bring about a moral, intellectual and spiritual reformation."

Pitrim Sorokin, Dean of the Department of Sociology at Harvard, intones: "All values are unsettled, all norms are broken. Mental, moral, esthetic and social anarchy reigns supreme. Crisis is omnipresent and involves almost the whole of culture and society from top to bottom." A Yale University committee prescribed: "It is the hope of the corporation and this committee that religious life at Yale may become stronger." A host of psychiatrists, employed in various "mental health foundations," recommended mass psycho-analytic examinations.

As in the period of decay of the Roman Empire, many despair of human reason and take refuge in mysticism. Science, according to the Huxleys, de Broglies, Romaines, and others, is bankrupt. Perplexed scholars and intellectuals hunt for ancient or medieval cultural and ethical values. They seek to renovate the Vedas, the Kierkegaards and other mystical and religious philosophies. Fearing the bankruptcy of their system's "spiritual values," they rummage for solid gold ideologies. Sensing the deepening twilight of their historical period, some recently urged calling together "not only... statesmen and military men, but ... all the philosophers, sociologists, economists and psychologists to formulate the principles of a new world." Columbia University sages, in September 1952, proposed a conference of a hundred scientists and scholars to "solve the questions of our time," and "a 12-year study of such symbols as democracy standing for idea systems."

Cheap Men and Dear Men. . .

Hand in hand with faith, worship, psychoanalysis, and long-range idea-system studies go other more "practical" recommendations. Prof. Sorokin advised accepting the

Biblical precept, "Therefore, I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on; but seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness." This theme was also advocated by Frank Buchman, the moral rearmament crusader, who described Himmler as "a great lad," and Hitler as "sent by Providence." The Vatican, in an appeal to the people of China and North Korea, besought them "not to seek things only of the earth by scorning the things of heaven." To reinforce its request, the Vatican produced two photographs of a "miracle" in which the sun was seen "to revolve swiftly around itself before sunset." This miracle was followed by another, wherein two Portuguese children saw the Virgin Mary imploring them to strive for the salvation of Russia. "Pope Pius," added the *New York Times*, "saw the same miracle on October 30, 1917." Hollywood lost no time in filming the miracles.

Thus, neither priest, banker nor professor contests the fact that our moral, legal and cultural domains are in a state of crisis. Some vaguely hint that our political and economic fabric is nearing some state of climactic tension. None of them dare say more. But can one divorce the politics of a system from the economic foundations on which it rests? Is not the decay of morality and culture a sure sign that the social system as a whole is in the throes of a crisis?

This crisis, of course, is related to the fact that people are seeking "the things of the earth." On the one hand workers and peasants in Africa and Asia seek to rid themselves of hunger and destitution. On the other men of capital seek cheap labour, raw materials, and investments yielding bigger profits. On this basis, Walter B. Pitkin of Harvard University, classifies human beings as "cheap men" or "dear men," and the Eurasian land mass as containing about a billion and a half cheap men. On this basis too, the Vatican issued in 1952 a revised edition of the *Catholic Code of International Morals* (first published in 1937), which states: "The Creator has distributed the goods of this world differently among the regions and peoples of the globe. The Providential plan must be respected and the diverse human groups

have no right to consider themselves the exclusive owners of the benefits and riches of the territory they occupy." The Code declares that it is "the duty of international authority to take under its tutelage some as yet uncultivated people." It refers to the colonial peoples as "savage and degraded people, victims of vice, ignorance and superstition."

If these backward peoples should attempt to drive out the "civilizers," the Code prescribes special measures. "Science and technology are continually offering belligerents more powerful instruments of death and destruction; air warfare, submarine warfare, biological warfare. *It would be vain to deny the right of states to adapt in a certain measure their armaments and methods of warfare to these new possibilities.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.) Hence, the most expedient way of stopping "cheap men" from seeking "the things of the earth" is to send them to heaven.

Such too, is the crisis remedy now advocated by many bourgeois savants. They have dug up the corpse of Malthusianism, a theory which arose at a time when feudalism was dying and which claimed that the earth cannot feed more than 500 million people and that social unrest, wars and revolutions are due to "overpopulation." *

Today, the Neo-Malthusians talk of saving mankind through mass sterilization, wars, famine, and by eliminating the scientific control of epidemics. "Unfortunately, in spite of war, German massacres and localized malnutrition," wrote William Vogt, author of *The Road To Survival*, "the population of Europe, excluding Russia, increased by 11 million people between 1936 and 1946. The greatest tragedy that China could suffer at the present time would be a reduction in her death rate. . . . One of the greatest national assets of Chile, perhaps the greatest asset, is its high death rate." Robert C. Cook, editor of the *Journal of Heredity* wrote that "the most ominous force in the world today is uncontrolled fertility." "The Black Death in the fifteenth

¹ Only 2 billion acres are under cultivation today in the world. U.N. estimates show that there are 25 million square miles or 16 billion acres available for agriculture which could supply food for 8 more billion people, even under present methods of cultivation.

century worked for the benefit of the remaining Englishmen," asserted Elmer Pendell and Guy I. Burch, two other Malthusians.

As for the present they claim that "there are between 40 to 50 million unnecessary births in the world each year." Parents unable to properly feed, clothe and educate their children, they wrote, "ought to be sterilized." ¹ They would also introduce measures to prevent millions of Chinese, Indians, Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans from marrying. Cornelius P. Rhodes, an American biologist, wrote of Puerto Rico: "What this island needs isn't work by the public health service, but a tidal wave to completely exterminate the population." "The Japanese don't die so easily as before," complained the *Zurich Tages Anzeiger*, after examining Japanese statistics on mortality and noting its reduction through penicillin and streptomycin.

Virtually all of them put their faith in the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Arthur H. Compton, the noted physicist, declared: "I think that not only did God condone our act in dropping the bomb, but that it was only with His help and inspiration that the job was done. I consider it a direct act of Providence that the ability to make and use atomic bombs first became available to the United States." Bertrand Russell announced that he favours the use of the hydrogen bomb if the latter offers the only hope of saving the Western world.

At the December 14, 1953 meeting of the NATO powers, Dulles declared that "the danger from within has been the underlying cause of two world wars," and that "the West may destroy itself again. The United States is interested in trying to create a situation so that the Western countries will not commit suicide. If they decide to commit suicide they may have to commit it alone," he warned. He called for more German divisions, for bigger weapons and for "greater faith in God and Western Civilization."

* They point to sterilization as an American invention, since California had been practising it for fifteen years when Hitler introduced it in 1934.

But can the so-called Western world be saved? Can it recapture its "good old days" and regain its *couleur de rose* by exterminating millions through bombs and plague germs? And how did this state of affairs come about? What happened to the class which, at the turn of the century, was still aglow with optimism, holding forth the promise of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? What is this strange malady that is sapping the strength of world capitalism? What are those sinister forces driving the Western ruling classes towards self-destruction?

The Gap: Two Hands and a Thousand

Closer examination, however, will reveal symptoms of decay even while capitalism was at the pinnacle of its power. The glorification of war and violence, of the morbid and irrational, became the hallmark of bourgeois politics and culture as early as the closing decades of the last century. Indeed, the first tremors of the great earthquakes that were to rip the fabric of the capitalist social order, came between 1885 and 1900. We will see how Marx and Engels, basing themselves on a scientific analysis of the laws governing the capitalist system, had predicted these upheavals some 50 years earlier.

The capitalist mode of production arose in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Transitional forms of so-called adolescent capitalism already existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It arose when domestic handicraft production by artisans and peasants was displaced by the more efficient wage labour system introduced by men with capital, who had accumulated new tools, machines and raw materials. A long series of crises, wars and revolutions marked the era when the capitalist system was displacing feudalism. With the aid of the rising peasantry, the capitalists broke the political power of the nobility and church. They confiscated feudal property and released millions of serfs from bondage to the lords. They did all this in order

to create a free market for the hiring and firing of labour power. The working class was born—a class whose livelihood no longer depended on “charitable” nature, on tributes to the lord, or even on how much it toiled. The workers’ livelihood now depended on the supply of and demand for labour, on the finding of markets for the growing number of articles they produced.

This was not the case under the feudal system, when production was on a small scale, the bulk of it going to satisfy the needs of the feudal manors and the local population. Whatever surpluses they acquired the nobles usually sold, to buy themselves luxuries produced elsewhere. Under capitalism, however, production and consumption became separated from each other. For no sooner did capitalist production start going than it was pursued by lack of demand. Economic crises began to break out, throwing millions out of work.

The primary aim of every capitalist is profits, the accumulation of capital, the expansion of plant and machinery—then more profits. Capital, therefore, never pays a worker more than it is compelled to. This is usually the sum the worker needs to subsist. At certain times and places this sum is more; at others, as in colonial countries, it is usually less. The worker’s wage never conforms to the amount he produces. A Chilean mine worker, an Arabian or Venezuelan oil worker, produces as much as an American worker, but their wages are anywhere between one-fifth and one-tenth of the latter’s. Sometimes wages rise, but never in proportion to output. Sometimes real wages stagnate or decline while production per worker rises. Always, the more the workers produce and the smaller their wages in comparison to the value of what they produce, the bigger the profits.

The capitalist, however, cannot realize profits until *all* the goods produced by workers are sold or converted into money. Offhand, it would appear impossible to consummate this sale right from the beginning. Obviously, if a million workers produce a million garments and receive in wages only the value of half a million garments, the market (even

if the 100 or 1,000 capitalist employers should buy 100 garments each) will immediately become clogged by overproduction. But the problem vanishes when the workers who make lathes or forges, those who build steamships or factories, come on the market with *their* pay envelopes. The things they produce, capital goods, are not destined for immediate consumption. Moreover, such goods are bought up by capitalist investors. Hence, the more workers employed in the *capital goods industry*, the easier it is for the capitalists of the *consumers' goods industry* to get rid of their products. Thus the system cannot operate unless the workers in the capital goods industry keep on producing ever more machines and factories. The capitalists must keep on reinvesting their profits, expanding production. The bigger profits realized on the bigger investments must be reinvested. In sum, both consumption and profits must keep on rising.*

Rising productivity brings an ever-larger flood of goods. Modern machinery enables the worker to produce with a thousand hands. But the worker can purchase only what he gets paid for his two hands. Under capitalism, the consuming power of society cannot, therefore, rise in proportion to the rise in production. Markets cannot be found for all the goods produced. Plants cannot be utilized to full capacity. As the demand for capital goods starts falling, demand for consumers' goods starts spinning downward. The result—unemployment, immense gluts of unsalable goods, and a crisis of overproduction.

In its younger days, the capitalist system overcame this contradiction by periodically going into a tailspin. Each boom was followed by a sharp fall in prices, followed by wage cuts and decline in production. The wealth produced over and above what the people were able to consume was

* For a fuller treatment of this question the reader is referred to *Political Economy and Capitalism*, by Maurice Dobb, New York, 1937; *Political Economy*, by John Eaton, New York, 1949; and *Political Economy*, by A. Leontiev, New York, 1935, all by International Publishers.

wiped out in bankruptcies, in the rotting away of products and the condemnation of millions to unemployment. These violent eruptions restored balance.

So much for the contradiction between production and consumption. But is this gap the basic cause of crises? If so, why not prevent or abolish crises by raising mass consumption? Are capitalists so ill-advised as to prefer a depression or gamble on war rather than narrow this gap by raising wages, increase the workers' consumption and keep the system going? But the trouble is a deeper one. Crises do not arise simply out of under-consumption. In fact, the outbreak of crises is always preceded by a boom period characterized by relatively high wages and higher consumption. (On the other hand the period of revival is preceded by a period of low mass consumption.) "It is purely a tautology" wrote Marx "to say that crises are caused by a scarcity of solvent consumers.... Crises are precisely always preceded by a period in which wages rise generally and the working class actually get a larger share of the annual production intended for consumption." (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume II.)

The periodic crises arise out of a more fundamental contradiction. Capitalism increasingly organizes all production on a social basis. The production of any item entails a widely organized, scientifically planned division of labour. Countless men, machines and factories are linked and co-ordinated in the process of production. But this increasingly social organization of production is opposed by the utterly anti-social, individual, private grab or appropriation of that which is produced. The basic contradiction, therefore, is between the social character of production and the capitalist form of appropriation of the fruits of this production. "Gigantic crashes have become possible and inevitable," wrote Lenin, "only because powerful social productive forces have become subordinate to a gang of rich men, whose only concern is to make profits." (Collected Works, Volume IV.) The gap between the immense production forces and the lag in the workers' purchasing power is merely one of the expressions of this principal, root-contradiction.

Capitalist production is organized on a social basis; but what actually determines how much of any given product is to be produced? In the U.S.A., is it social requirements, or the people's needs that determine how many homes, housing projects, schools, books, cars, candy bars, or for that matter, how many gallons of hard liquor, comic books or murder films are to be produced? Not at all. What article and how much of it is to be produced in any given period is not determined by demand or social need, but by the needs of capital. (The American people, for example, are in dire need of millions of new dwellings, schools, parks, theatres, playgrounds, nurseries, roads, hospitals and numerous other projects for raising the people's material and cultural standard of living. But the production of these items, unlike the output of cars, is crawling at a snail's pace.) Investment and production always race forward in those branches where profits are highest. There arises the contradiction between what is needed and what is produced. "It is the Darwinian struggle for individual existence, transferred from nature to society with intensified fury. The contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation reproduces itself as *the antagonism between the organization of production in the individual factory and the anarchy of production in society as a whole.*" (F. Engels, *Anti-Duhring.*)

Production is determined by the laws governing the self expansion of capital which is a dynamic, never-ending process. To survive, each capitalist or group of monopolists must engage in a life and death struggle for ever more profits, throw the greatest possible amount of goods on the market, transform profits into capital, erect new factories, extend and cut the cost of production. They must press ever more furiously toward maximum exploitation, maximum profits and maximum output, as if the sky were the limit. Ultimately, this tendency to unlimited expansion of industry conflicts with the limited purchasing power of the broad masses. The result is the crisis of overproduction which emerges at the point where it becomes unprofitable for the capitalist to maintain or extend production.

Thus, the very nature of capitalist production decrees that it overstep all bounds of the market. Any rise in wages *must* be accompanied by a bigger rise in profits and the expansion of plant and machinery beyond the limits of the circumscribed capitalist market. This explains why all the measures sponsored by the Keynesian economists, such as government spending on public works and armaments, "easy money" and credit manipulations, etc., have failed in curing or preventing depressions. Such measures act like a blood transfusion upon an anaemia caused by a malignant growth. It strengthens the pulse for a while but it cannot halt the inevitable course of the disease.

The recurring recessions and depressions reveal the ultimate fate of the capitalist social system: Growing abundance becomes a growing source of distress, leading to ever more violent political and economic crises. This is the reason why capitalism, when reaching a higher state of development, turns moribund, decays and resorts to armament production, fascism and war as its means for survival.

Birth of a Demon

At the end of the eighteenth century, with the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, capitalism left behind the period of hand manufacture and advanced to large-scale mechanized industry. Steam power, new tools and inventions, division of labour, revolutionized production. New industries, widening markets and exports, and the construction of vast railroad networks, created big booms. But each boom was followed by ever-sharper crises of overproduction. Their periodic return, wrote Marx and Engels in 1848, "put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of overproduction."

At first these cyclical crises, which recurred every seven to ten years, from 1825 onward, affected only certain bran-

ches of production, or certain countries. By the middle of the nineteenth century, economic crises became world-wide in scope. History was now moored to the indomitable cadence of their alternating up-and-down strokes. They governed the oscillations on the stock exchanges, party platforms, and shifts in government. The massive valves behind all economic, social, and political development began moving at an ever-faster pace.

Between 1860 and 1873, capitalism reached "the apex of development of free competition." Monopoly was still "in the barely discernable embryonic stage," wrote Lenin. Although broken by cyclical crises, this period was marked by a stupendous growth of productive forces.

But in 1873 European capitalism was hit by a crisis which turned into the first Great Depression. German iron consumption fell by as much as 50%. Although eased by intermittent periods of recovery, the crisis lasted until the middle of the nineties.

Capitalism began to lose its former resiliency in extricating itself from crises. The system seemed chained to burdensome surpluses. Cecil Rhodes (whom Lenin described as the "millionaire king of finance who was mainly responsible for the Boer War") declared in 1895: "I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread, bread, bread,' and on my way home I pondered over the scene and became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism. We colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines. Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists."

Not only the British, but all the other capitalists rushed to follow Rhodes' advice. For they were having difficulty in maintaining both full employment and a high rate of profit. To insure their investments, they began to form cartels and monopolies, which in turn coalesced with banking capital to create a top financial oligarchy. A few hundred

magnates came into control of all basic industries. They fixed prices and volume of production, so that limited sales would yield them high profits. To get rid of their surpluses, they first exported consumers' goods, then capital goods, finally capital itself, in the form of foreign investments.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, this concern with foreign investment became the hallmark of a new period. "Create new markets, capture new sources of cheap raw materials," was the cry of Big Business. Between 1850 and 1880, British capital investments abroad multiplied five times, from £ 200 million to £ 1,000 million, and by 1905 it reached £ 2,000 million. With it went a demand for armies to protect the investment areas and the plundering of colonial peoples. Capitalism had entered the epoch of imperialism.

Imperialism, while emerging out of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, represents a distinct historical epoch, a new stage in the development of capitalism. It is marked by the rise of a parasitic rentier class existing on tributes from investments in colonial and dependent countries. Lenin defined the specific character of imperialism as three-fold: "Imperialism is (1) monopoly capitalism, (2) parasitic or decaying capitalism, (3) moribund capitalism." The free competition of the many is replaced by the much fiercer struggle between giant international cartels and monopolies. The stupendous profits accumulated by them pressure their search for new profits; hence the export of capital, the furious drive to seize not only the internal markets but also the raw materials and labour power of foreign lands. The pillage and enslavement of millions in the colonial and dependent countries is paralleled by numerous imperialist wars and massacres extending over the entire globe.

Between 1885 and 1900 the major powers were suddenly seized by a feverish expansionism. The European states scrambled to carve up the five million square miles of Africa and the still-available territories of Asia. Britain annexed Burma, Malaya, and Baluchistan. In 1890, Germany annexed the Cameroons and Togoland in Africa and occupied Samoa

in the Pacific. France seized Annam and Tongking from China, and Tunisia, coveted by Italy. In 1894, Tokyo launched a war against China in retaliation for Chinese protests against the presence of Japanese troops in Korea. The U.S. occupied the Hawaiian Islands in 1893 and conquered Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines in 1898. Italy acquired Eritrea and Somaliland and attempted to conquer Abyssinia in 1897. To enlarge her African possessions, Britain started a war to crush the Boers in 1899. U.S. Secretary of State, John Hay, demanded an "open door" in China. Although at each other's throats, all of them united in 1900 in a military campaign—headed by the German general, Waldersee—to crush the Boxer rebellion, an anti-imperialist mass uprising against the foreign missions and troops occupying China.

Rivalries and tensions kept mounting. Dual and triple alliances were concluded by each power to insure itself against attack by the other. Britain and France were at daggers' points over differences in relation to Africa, Afghanistan, Turkey, Madagascar, and Siam. The British fleet steamed to the Dardanelles to claim control over the Black Sea outlet and the Middle East. Each power raised armament expenditures, multiplied guns and navies. The press, schools, universities, and pulpits fanned the fires of chauvinism, jingoism, the "my country, right or wrong" war spirit. Prime Minister Joseph Chamberlain declared that Britain's survival depended on the continued occupation of India, parts of China, Egypt, and the African continent. Lord Curzon wrote in 1892, "Afghanistan, Transcaspia, Persia to me . . . are the pieces of a chessboard upon which is being played out a game for the domination of the world."

In 1908, the German fleet was rushed to Morocco to force the French Comité des Forges to yield its iron, cobalt and manganese to the Krupp and Mannesman steel trusts. The latter openly demanded direct intervention and war with France, if necessary. The Ruhr steel and chemical trusts assumed full control of the War Department and amassed huge armament profits while Kaiser Wilhelm bla-

thered of peace, world rule, God, and German destiny. The Turkish army was put under German command. In 1909, the Association of German Intellectuals, sponsored by Stinnes and Krupp, issued memoranda "In Defence of Germany and Western Culture Against the Barbarism of the East." Between 1905 and 1914 numerous so-called Africa societies, Baltic and South American associations, and Asia First groups, mushroomed in Germany. A vast propaganda apparatus was set in motion to convince the German people that their survival depended on control of the Balkans, Turkey, the Middle East—indeed, of the world!

A conflagration erupted in the Far East—the Russo-Japanese War of 1903. In 1905, the United States, in a deal with Japan, sanctioned the latter's occupation of Korea. Then came the first and second Balkan wars of 1911 and 1913, behind which stood the contending big powers who were setting the stage for World War I.

The predominant economic and political literature of the period displayed an incredible inanity of content. It showed no real understanding of the causes of the rising conflicts, nor of their consequences. Most of the writers and scholars of that era glorified so-called national honour, armaments, Christian morals, and battle-fields.

Sober analyses of the new course history had taken came only from the ideologists of the working class, the Marxists, led by Lenin. Sober, because it can now be shown that rampaging history followed the precise grooves of Lenin's analysis.

The Marxists saw the dawn of the new era while the old was still at the zenith of its power. Carrying forward the scientific laws discovered by Marx, Lenin charted the inevitable course which events would take. He showed not only what must happen, but what must be done.

Imperialism, or monopoly capitalism, Lenin showed, leads to concentration of production into ever-larger units, speed-up in technological development and growth of the productive forces. With the rise in output, the capitalists of many more countries plunge in the whirlpool of the world market in search of sales. More sorely pressed for markets,

competition among them assumes the form of a life-and-death struggle. The growth of one group can only take place through the subjection of the other. (By 1925, for example, the general production index for North America showed a 26% rise above 1913, but capitalist Europe as a whole showed only a 2% rise.)

Expansion of production in one country becomes possible only if productive forces elsewhere stagnate, decay, or are kept in leash. Employment and a living wage in the U.S. are achieved at the expense of unemployment and starvation wages in Italy or Brazil, etc. The plunder and impoverishment of entire continents become the conditions for the existence of a handful of monopolies.

Imperialism heightens the difference in the rate of industrial development among different capitalist countries. It accelerates the development of some countries while retarding others. Up until the present, world capitalism in its monopoly period thus reveals two opposite tendencies: one toward decay, the other toward accelerated growth of production. This forms the basis, as Lenin showed, for the extraordinary unevenness of development of modern capitalism. His discovery that uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of monopoly capitalism was of epoch-making significance. By tracing its development, Lenin showed that this law must express itself in a sharpening struggle of some countries "to surpass other countries and crowd them out of the world markets, thereby creating the precondition for military clashes."

Because one country overtakes another, new relations of forces arise, and these in turn make any durable international compacts between them impossible. The inevitable wars among the imperialist powers for the redistribution of markets and territories must lead to the weakening of world capitalism. The enormous sacrifices, the crushing burdens imperialism imposes upon the working masses, the horror and calamities imperialist wars bring upon mankind as a whole, give rise to world-wide revolutionary movements. The inhuman exploitation of millions in the colonial and dependent countries gives birth to anti-imperialist libera-

tion movements. Imperialism itself thus creates the objective conditions for its eventual downfall. From all this, Lenin deduced that the victory of socialism in separate countries is not only possible but inevitable. He therefore called imperialism, the highest and last stage of capitalism, the transition to socialism. "Whoever has not understood this simple matter," wrote Stalin, "has not understood anything on the question of the economic essence of monopolistic capitalism."

From about 1910 onward, European capitalism began to decline. Imperialism did not lead to the kind of rejuvenation Cecil Rhodes had hoped for. The system's contradictions were actually sharpened by the rise of cartels and financial oligarchies with their tremendous power to accelerate the exploitation of labour both at home and in the colonial countries, to maintain high prices, to impose crushing armament burdens upon the masses, and to extract maximum profits. It became even more weighted down by surplus goods, surplus capital and surplus populations which became ropes around the necks of the trusts.

As a result, the cyclical crises of 1900, 1907 and 1914 were more acute than crises under competitive *laissez faire* capitalism. The imperialists sought a way out at one another's expense and at the expense of the people who pay for war. And with World War I—with its monstrous destructiveness and the revolutionary struggles which it set off—began the mortal illness of world capitalism: its *general crisis*. To understand the nature of this crisis is to understand the essence of the present world situation.

The General Crisis

With the first World War and the victory of the Russian Revolution, capitalism entered its *general crisis* period. This is a crisis of the entire capitalist system, marked by a continuous process of world capitalist disintegration, wars, revolutions, and the concomitant rise of socialism.

The basic feature of the general crisis is the cleavage of the world into two opposite systems. Up to the Revolution of 1917, the contradictions afflicting the capitalist system were internal: the antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie (including the social and economic contradictions inherent in the capitalist system of production); the antagonism between the imperialist states and the masses in the colonial countries; third, the rivalries and antagonisms among the imperialists themselves. After the 1917 Revolution, a fourth and external contradiction was added—between imperialism and advancing socialism. The Revolution not only reduced the area of imperialist exploitation, but shook the foundations of that system. Its example revealed to the working masses their own strength and power. The class struggle widened and grew in intensity. A revolutionary working class and peasantry arose in the colonial countries, which changed the character of the people's anti-imperialist liberation struggle.*

Among the foremost changes in this period of the general crisis is the slowing down of the overall *rate* of capitalist industrial expansion. Between 1897 and 1913 world production of coke and metal, for example, increased by 180% and 140% respectively. But between 1913 and 1929 the output of these basic indicators of industrial growth increased only 7.2% and 23.8% respectively. In the 23 years before the first World War, industrial production on the average increased 3.7% per year. Between 1913 and 1929 the average increase was only 2.4% per year. Between 1929 and 1952, even with the stimulus of gigantic war outlays, the increase has been less than 2% per year.

* This does not mean that capitalism's deeper crisis is *caused* by the rise of socialism. The crisis is an inner one and follows the law of contradiction and conflict within the capitalist system itself. External factors such as the existence of the Soviet Union and of the camp of socialism and its world market heighten the inner conflicts within the capitalist system, but did not create them. These conflicts existed before the birth of the Soviet Union. Indeed, it was these factors that gave rise to World War I and to the birth of the Soviet Union itself.

Other facts illustrate the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism: After World War I there was a letdown in overall capitalist production, but it soon recovered and rose above the peak attained during the war. And this postwar peak was reached without large-scale military production. Immediately after the second World War there was a similar slump in production. The recovery that followed, however, failed to surpass the peak attained during the war. In November 1943 the index of U.S. production hit 247. Ten years later, despite enormous defence production, U.S. production still remains below this level.*

Along with this change in the rate of expansion came a deformation of the cyclical crisis. For instance, on examining the period between 1820 and 1914, we find that the crises that came every seven to ten years were followed by prosperity cycles; each prosperity cycle reached its highest point immediately before the outbreak of a new crisis. They formed part of the functioning of the capitalist system. But with the beginning of the general crisis period, both prosperity and depression phases lost their former character.

It is typical of the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism that even at the highest point of the prosperity cycle there is some unemployment, while plants are not worked at full capacity. In the first part of 1929, the highest point of the cyclical rise, there were several million unemployed in the U.S., and the capacity of the production apparatus was only 70% utilized.

Depressions like the 1929-34 period were no longer followed by real comebacks or prosperity periods, but by chronic stagnation, short-lived speculative booms which soon relapsed into another downward cycle. (The 1938 recession, for instance, was not preceded by any real prosperity cycle.) spurts of revival were frequently confined to special

* Federal Reserve Board Index of industrial output (1925-39 = 100) showed a rise to 247 in 1943, a drop to 170 in 1946; in 1948 it rose to 192; then it dropped to 176 in 1949 and rose again to 220 in 1951, after the out-break of the Korean war. In July 1952 the FRB index stood at 232, in July 1953 at 240 and then dropped to 220 in January 1954.

branches of industry, or certain countries, while the rest stagnated. Above all, the crises were marked by greater depth. In 1932, U.S. steel and coal production was set back to the level of 1902; that of England, to 1897 and 1908. For the capitalist world as a whole, coal production was at the level of 1907 and steel was at the level of 1906:¹

As a result of overpopulation in agriculture and minerals, the effects of the crisis also extended to the colonial countries. Deliberate destruction of goods on an enormous scale became the rule in the capitalist world, despite hunger and Hoovervilles in the metropolitan countries and mass starvation in the colonial and dependent lands. Since 1930 the U.S. trusts have burned, dumped, left to rot or otherwise destroyed billions of dollars in agricultural and other commodities. (In 1948 two million tons of potatoes were burned in the United States, while 250 million dozen eggs were held in storage for destruction.) For the most part, destruction of national wealth was achieved by means of astronomical armaments expenditures.

The general crisis is an all-around crisis, embracing the whole social and political structure of world capitalism. Antagonisms, rivalries, and the uneven development among the different imperialist states assume new proportions. Militarization and armaments become the main prop of the economy and gobble up the national wealth. Taxes multiply, while living standards slump. The entire money and credit structure is shot through with deficits and inflation problems. Capitalism becomes a hindrance to the further development of society. Art, literature, science, philosophy, law, the press, films, are turned into instruments for stupefying the masses. The state is transformed into a shameless instrument of the monopolies, permeated with corruption,

* Between 1913 and 1929, the index of capitalist world production rose by 47%, but the capacity of its mechanical forces grew, it is estimated, by 100%. Between 1912 and 1930, the mechanical forces of British industry grew by 87%, but the volume of British industrial production between 1917 and 1939 never surpassed 1913 by more than 15%.

graft and thievery. Finally, the financial oligarchy resorts to ever more violent forms of rule.

Profile of Our Epoch

The principal aspects of the general crisis of capitalism are twofold: the accelerated growth of the socialist world sector and the increasing break-up and decomposition of the imperialist world system. The two historical processes are interrelated and interdependent, and their struggle forms the content of this epoch.

Historically, the epoch of the general crisis presents two main stages of development (for the moment presented here in outline form). The first stage extends from the first World War up to the outbreak of the second World War. During this first stage, the world capitalists were able to patch up the dikes opened by the Russian Revolution. Ruthless repression defeated proletarian revolutions in Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria and Italy and colonial uprisings in Morocco, Indo-China, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Big Business turned to fascism to maintain its rule in Italy, Japan, Germany, and various smaller countries. Still, things went from bad to worse for the capitalists. The terrible economic crisis of the 1930's not only hit their pocketbooks, but increased the opposition to their rule.

Powerful Communist parties became a major factor in the working class movement in almost all countries. Bitter rivalries for markets and raw materials brought about growing antagonisms and conflicts among the major capitalist powers and spoiled their attempts to solve their problems through a joint war against the USSR.

On the other side, the Soviet Union successfully completed two five-year plans. It developed from a war-wrecked, famine-ridden land into a powerful socialist country. It became a major factor in world diplomacy and succeeded in thwarting the Munich plot for a joint anti-Soviet war.

The growing difficulties of the imperialists found expression in the Japanese assault upon China, the Italian aggression against Ethiopia, the attack of German and Italian fascism upon the Spanish Republic, and finally, in World War II.

If the first period of the general crisis of capitalism began with World War I and the storming of the Tsar's Winter Palace by the Leningrad workers on November 7, 1917, its second period opened on February 2, 1943. It was on this day that the heroic Soviet workers and peasants crushed Hitler's armies at Stalingrad. This heralded the final victory of the USSR over all the efforts to weaken or conquer it and was sensed by all the imperialists as an unmitigated disaster.

The war, moreover, shattered the economic and political power of the European capitalists. In Eastern Europe, as in France and Italy, the working masses spurned the rule of those who betrayed the people by collaborating with the fascist invader. With the rise of the People's Democracies, new and irrevocable breaches were made in the imperialist system. The Communist Parties of France, Italy, and other countries gained millions of new adherents. The Soviet Union was able rapidly to liquidate its war losses and advanced with giant steps toward the creation of a vast industry and technology, second to none. Soviet science and engineering began to surpass those in the capitalist countries. The USSR checkmated the imperialists' atom and hydrogen bomb plans by nullifying their hoped-for monopoly in this field. Finally, the most stupendous blow sustained by world imperialism during this second period of its general crisis was the victory of the Chinese Revolution, which joined a vast new sector of humanity to the camp of advancing socialism.

Historically far-reaching are other events of the most recent phase of the general crisis: the stalling of the U.S. and other imperialist forces by the North Korean and Chinese People's Armies, the growth of the world peace movement, the further consolidation of the Chinese Revo-

lution, and the further and more rapid industrial advance of the USSR and the People's Democracies.

The relation of world forces has steadily turned in favour of socialism. More than one-third of mankind has come under its banner. The initial question asked by some in 1918—whether socialism can be built in one country—is changing into whether capitalism can survive, and for how long.

As a result of the second World War, every aspect of the general crisis of capitalism sharpened and reached a new level. World capitalism failed to regain even temporary stability, as it had done in the period following the first World War. The uneven development among the imperialist powers became more accentuated. U.S. domination, the disintegration of the single, all-embracing world market, the attempt to halt this disintegration through Marshall-plan dumping, rearmament, and the launching of new wars—all this deepened the crisis by throwing the West European economies into a still more perilous state.

Today, the difference between the capitalist and socialist countries in their rate of industrial development is growing wider. With 1929 equalling 100, the 1952 index of industrial production in the USSR stood at 1266; that of the United States at 200; of Britain at 160, and of France at 104.

The crisis and break-up of the colonial system, which began after the first World War, has immeasurably widened. The struggle of millions of oppressed peoples in Africa and Asia has entered a new stage. The example of the Chinese Revolution, the growing unity between workers and peasants against oppression, have created people's forces capable of conducting anti-imperialist campaigns of long duration.

Lenin called imperialism the highest stage of capitalism because it has no further stage except the phases of development just outlined; phases of breakdown and transition to socialism. The present period, when 800 million people are already beyond the reach of imperialist exploitation, when the remaining colonial areas are rapidly shrinking, could therefore be called imperialism's terminal phase. For

the time span of its present war and crisis period is severely limited and can only end in the further weakening and dissolution of the world imperialist system, after which the term "world imperialism" will no more designate an actuality.

In the terminal phase of the general crisis of capitalism, everything the imperialists do—or don't do—advances the cause of socialism. This truth is unwittingly confirmed, even by capitalism's own spokesmen. According to them, socialism is advanced by floods, famine, poverty, low wages, inflation, deflation, all forms of ruling class oppression, violence, decay and corruption, as well as by strikes for higher wages, land reform, all social welfare measures, by the struggle for civil liberties, for racial equality, housing, jobs and peace—in short, by everything, good or evil. This reflects the basic truth of our epoch: that all roads lead in the direction of socialism.

The world camp of socialism is offering shrinking world capitalism an orderly retreat—coexistence, peaceful competition, profitable trade relations, and the abolition of wars of aggression as an instrument of foreign policy. It has also warned that another war will dig the grave, not of this or that ruling class, but of world capitalism as a whole. Yet the monopolists, like every dying class, see the gravest danger not in war, but in peace. They fear peaceful competition. They place their diminishing stakes on super-armaments, on bloody adventures against the colonial peoples, and finally, on plans to escape the historical verdict by means of a third World War.

Finally, one of the most significant aspects of imperialism's last phase is its growing inability to force its will upon mankind. Its war drive meets with the growing resistance of the people's forces. The gulf separating the people from the war makers can no longer be bridged. Imperialism becomes incompatible with human existence. Circumstances compel hundreds of millions to realize that in order to survive they must join the mighty international front of peace. The battle for peace becomes the most vital and decisive struggle for the people of the entire world.

Chapter II

Cracks In The American Pyramid

THE TOWERING EDIFICE of American capitalism arose after some 175 years of continuous development. It burgeoned under the most favourable circumstances, unhindered by feudalism, nourished by untold natural resources, millions of Negro slaves, cheap labour of countless immigrants, the huge influx of foreign capital, exploitation of Latin American labour and resources, and, finally, two world wars, which not only left U.S. capitalism untouched, but pulled it out of crisis.

At mid-century, U.S. capitalism appeared to be at the zenith of its power. In comparison with the state of advanced gangrene of the European capitalist economies, it still appeared healthy. Its industrial plant had expanded both during and after the war. Its output exceeded that of all the other capitalist powers combined. Indeed, the gleaming chrome- and steel-plated facade of its structure gave an impression of soundness and stability. "On closer examination, however, the observer could notice that it was swayed by fitful, spasmodic tremors; and, on peering downward, he could see that its foundation was not only fissured, but rested on shifting faults.

How can anyone speak of the decay of American capitalism? many people want to know. We are employing some 62 million workers. We are producing millions of automobiles, radios, television sets. U.S. steel production is the highest in the world. Doesn't this show how strong American capitalism is?

In his report to Congress on January 14, 1953, Truman pointed out that in 1952 each worker turned out 80% more

goods than in 1929, and that America today has more cars and refrigerators than ever before. "The enemies of free enterprise," he declared, "say that in the long run we cannot succeed. They point to history and to the false conclusion which Marx drew from nineteenth century industry."

Truman "Refutes" Karl Marx

But the state of American capitalism can no more be judged by its external appearance than the life expectancy of an organism by its size or outward dimensions. What is decisive is the strength and functioning of the vital internal organs, and there is ample evidence that the heart of American monopoly capitalism is definitely failing. It is failing in the short as in the long run—and precisely because the contradictions of the capitalist system discovered by Marx have become more monstrous than they were in the nineteenth century.

Government indexes, it is true, show factory operations and employment are at a higher level today. America of 1954 is not in the depression doldrums of the 1930's. Without doubt, the American people eat better than most of the other peoples in the capitalist world. But we must ask ourselves what the American standard of living would be if the second World War had not taken place? If Europe had not been devastated, if the billions that flow from the exploitation of foreign and colonial labour should stop? The big question is this: *Can American capitalism continue to operate on a high level without war production, and for how long? Can it be said that a system whose life depends on war production is viable?*

Capitalism, be it French, German or American, reaches its stage of decay when its functioning becomes dependent on the export of capital, on the production of armaments, on the plunder of foreign countries. Decay sets in and becomes intensified as output and expansion of industry begin to

clash with the limited capitalist sales and market outlets. This contradiction within the U.S. economy is growing at an even faster rate than in the other capitalist countries.

As far back as 1926 the Federal Trade Commission report on national wealth and income showed that one per cent of the population owned at least 59% of the national wealth, while 87% of the population—the industrial workers, small farmers, and small shopkeepers—owned only about 8% of the national wealth. In 1929, the income of the 36,000 richest families surpassed the combined income of 11,650,000 American families!

Speed-up and technological improvements raised productivity. The average output per man hour between 1923 and 1929 rose by 23%. Profits in relation to wages grew ever larger.* And even in 1929, at the height of "prosperity," most Americans lived in poverty or near-poverty. For factory workers as a whole, yearly earnings were then about \$1,300.

Marxists pointed to these contradictions, warned of the coming debacle, but the Hoovers dismissed it with declarations that "our economy was never as sound and as prosperous." With the outbreak of the crisis, the number of unemployed shot up to 15 million. Heavy industry operated at 20% of capacity. Widespread want and poverty were matched by a market glutted with all kinds of goods. All through the 1930's, there were millions of workers who remained permanently unemployed. National production, despite all stimulants, stayed below the \$85.9 billion figure attained in 1929. It was not surpassed until *after* the outbreak of World War II.

This demonstrated that only an all-out war, with over ten million workers consigned to barracks and battlefields, could pull the capitalist economy out of the depths of crisis and stagnation. This, more than anything else, revealed that

* If the value of the workers' average wages is represented by 100, the surplus value reaped by the American capitalists in profits in 1899 stood at 128; in 1929 it rose to 152. (Eugene Varga, *The Great Crisis and Its Political Consequences*, New York, 1935.)

American monopoly capitalism had lost its capacity to grow or function under the old conditions.

The 1941-45 war period temporarily concealed the crisis symptoms. But as soon as the war ended, the magnitude of the system's contradictions, its inability to function under normal peacetime conditions, became more obvious. Having emerged from the war with an enlarged productive capacity, American monopoly capitalism was even less viable than before. Such was the paradox. As compared to the expansion of plants, machinery, and overall productive capacity, the workers' wages and the capacity of the domestic market increased but little; as a result, "overproduction" threatened almost as soon as the war ended.

The monopolists feared that the end of the war would not only terminate the flow of super-profits but lead to a crisis more devastating than that of 1930. Peace became synonymous for them with falling prices, clogged markets, deflation, stock exchange slumps and depression. The *U.S. News and World Report* wrote on December 31, 1948, "Peace, if it really arrived would upset things. At present arms expenditure and aid to other countries are bolstering business." The *Journal of Commerce*, on March 23, 1948, wrote that, "Only an improved international situation can dim the business outlook." The *New York Times* added, "Sudden peace could work havoc with business."

Fattened on armament production and faced with idle plants if it was curtailed the monopolists sought for ways of merging the second world war with preparations for a third. In 1947, the Truman Doctrine proclaimed the duty of the United States to intervene in the affairs of any country for the purpose of upholding those regimes approved by it. The United States intervened in the civil wars of Greece and China. Armament production continued under the cloak of the cold war.

Still, overall production continued to stay below the 1943 level. A cyclical crisis began in the autumn of 1948 and overshadowed all of 1949 and part of 1950. The postwar boom, based on *limited* arms production, the Marshall Plan, and deferred demand caused by the war, was disintegrating.

Industrial output fell 14% between November 1948 and June 1949. Official unemployment estimates reached 4,680,000 in February 1950, in addition to millions more uncounted or partly unemployed. All this despite a four billion dollar rise in 1949 federal government spending for goods and services—mainly military. The American capitalists, however, continued to boast of the “essential health of our economy,” but added ever more insistently that it must be kept going by raising the armament budget.

The “American Way of Life”

In its sales talks on the “American Way of Life,” the Voice of America presented the living standards of the upper 15% or 20% of the population as typical of the country as a whole. Indeed, the high standard of living of a few million wealthy and upper middle class families—mostly American—became capitalism’s main show-window, defence, and apology.

But what of the majority of the American people? Most people from abroad and those in the United States who move in upper middle class circles, do not realize that in 1951, the year of “Korean war prosperity,” 53% of American families earned less than \$3,000. (Or about \$1,700 in 1938 dollars.) This, according to the Heller Committee budget, was \$1,275 below the sum needed by a family of four for sufficient food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. In that year, a report issued by the Census Bureau showed that 11 million children belonged to families with yearly incomes of less than \$2,000. “On the whole,” the report stated, “the rural population faces poverty even greater than in the towns and cities of the United States.”

In 1952, the rising inflation and higher taxes cut the living standards of the American people still further. A study by the United Electrical Workers Union research department showed that, in 1939 dollars, the so-called net spendable weekly earnings of workers in U.S. manufacturing

industries were \$24.40 in 1950 and \$23.80 in 1952. The union's cost-of-living index was 2.9 times higher than in 1939. In August 1952, *U.S. News & World Report*, in a featured article, "Are You Better Off Than Before Korea?" showed that although the factory worker's average wage in 1952 was about \$500 above 1949, he was actually worse off than before because of the rise in food prices, taxes, and other expenses. Even the U.S. Chamber of Commerce declared: "Many people would be surprised to learn that real personal income, after taxes and after adjustment for depreciation of the dollar, has not increased since the end of the war, and has actually declined slightly."

A Federal Reserve Board survey of November, 1953, showed that 65% of all the liquid assets in the United States were held by one-tenth of the families, 20% of the families owned 82% of all the savings, while one-half of the nation's families held only one per cent of the savings! *

A 1949 government report entitled, "Making Ends Meet on Less than \$2,000 a Year," revealed some of the conditions prevalent among the 11 million families who subsisted on \$38 a week in that year. "Health remains the highest point of vulnerability. In trying to make ends meet, the most frequent method used was to cut down the food budget, to eliminate milk and meat." The survey also found that "Poor diet is only one of the factors... improper housing, lack of warm clothing tap the fitness and vitality of the grown-ups and take their toll of the growing child."

The *Charlotte (N.C.) News* reported in June 1950, that school children in that city were fainting from hunger in

* Big Business spokesmen often claim that the American people own most of the corporate wealth. A Brookings Institute study by L. H. Kimmel showed that the number of people owning stocks dropped from nine million in 1937 to five million in 1952, and that 93% of all families in the United States had no corporate stock whatever. A Labour Research Association study disclosed that in 1952 some 75,000 people owned one-half of all the stock in the country. (See *Labour Fact Book IX*, p. 27.) A U.S. Treasury Department report for 1948, *Statistics of Income*, showed that in 1948, 0.7% of all those who submitted income tax returns received 51% of all stock dividends.

classrooms. It said, "At least 300 youngsters go to their classes every day with no breakfast; they carry no lunch and they have not the money to buy it. Many parents have kept their children out of school because they lacked the money to buy their youngsters shoes."

James H. David wrote in *March Labor* for January 1951, "I am employed by Armour and Company at West Fargo, North Dakota. During 1950 I worked eight months and received a wage total of \$1,352... Two of my boys have never tasted butter, and three of them have eaten so little beefsteak that they won't understand what the word steak actually means. With whole milk at 18 cents a quart and going up, I find it impossible to provide each of my four small boys with a quart of milk per day."

A report issued by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in August 1951 disclosed that out of 4,269,000 farms, the net income of 2,585,000, in 1949, was between \$450 and \$1,000 a year. Twelve per cent of the nation's farms produced 57% of the gross agricultural output while 9% of American farms realized more from their farm crops than the entire remaining 91%. Agriculture in the United States has come increasingly under the control of the big Morgan-Rockefeller food monopolies, who control the distribution, the prices, and the canning and processing of most crops. Numerous small farmers, forced out of existence, have become landless and migrant agricultural workers. Most of them subsist on 100 days' work a year. The survey reported that the average earnings of all migratory farm workers in 1949 were \$352 from farm work and \$162 from casual jobs.

In 1950, the Tuskegee Institute Survey showed that the wages of Negro agricultural workers in the southern states were generally "50 cents with board and 75 cents without board, usually at the end of the week; monthly wages are

* Apologists for the status quo often point to the number of automobiles and radios in use in the U.S. Let us note, therefore, that practically all of these families whose fitness and vitality were sapped by poor diets and bad housing had radios of one kind or another, and a considerable number of them also drove automobiles.

usually from 8 to 12 dollars, with less amounts paid to women and boys." From the share-croppers, the landlords take away half the cotton and corn harvest. Through police terror, disfranchisement and chain gangs, the white landlords in the South, it was estimated, steal from the southern Negro farmers and workers 80% of their crops and labour. Thus, the living conditions of millions of Negro, Mexican, and Puerto Rican workers in the United States resemble in some respects those of peoples in colonial countries.

Prosperity Through Armaments

While the real income of most American workers was either stationary or lowered, corporation profits zoomed to new heights.* The average annual profits (before taxes) of the U.S. monopolies from 1936 to 1939 amounted to \$5.4 billion; they rose to \$22.6 billion in the war years 1942-45, and to \$42.9 billion in 1951. Their total profits in the five war years amounted to \$107.4 billion, but rose to \$154.5 billion in the five postwar years 1946-50. These official figures, however, are incomplete. Vast sums remain unrecorded, to avoid taxes and to keep labour from seeing the full extent of monopoly plunder.

On each worker they employed in 1947, the coal and petroleum kings profited \$9,222 (in 1939 they made only \$2,162 per worker); the steel and automobile magnates about \$1,645 per employee (\$329 in 1939); the textile millionaires, \$1,547 (\$159 in 1939). In manufacturing as a whole, profits per employee rose from \$470 dollars in 1939 to \$1,480 in 1948.

With tens of millions of workers turning out far more than they receive in wages and social services, it is easy to see why so-called "over-production" assumes ever more

* Between 1939 and 1952 output per worker increased by about 35%, but average real annual earnings rose only about 6% in this period. (Economic Notes, 1953, Labour Research Association, New York.)

staggering dimensions. Moreover, while squeezing more and more profits from each worker, the consumers' goods monopolies and food trusts have continued raising prices, which makes it more difficult than ever for the workers to consume what they produce.

Big Business needed investment outlets for its vast accumulations of capital. But investments in any industry whose end product is destined for civilian consumption are rigidly circumscribed by the limits of the capitalist market outlets. The 27.5 million families who earned anywhere from \$1,000 to \$4,000 in 1951 form the majority of America's working population. Their total wages amounted to about \$80 billion at the most. Their labour, however, produced at least \$200 billions worth of goods. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, families in the top 20% received 47% of the 1948 national income, while the lowest 20% received only 4%. This inequality led to the situation where the top layer of the population could not spend all they earned, while most of the rest could not earn enough to spend. As a result—"overproduction."

The capitalists devised a formula to resolve this contradiction. Take a portion of the wealth the workers produce but are unable to purchase and convert it into guns, shells and other items of military "hardware." These are then to be bought up by the government for the purpose of "protecting" the nation as a whole. But the consequences of this, as we shall soon see, are even more fatal than the blows of overproduction.

The formula is not new. It was the mainstay of the Ruhr trusts during their Hitler era. The U.S. trusts took it over completely with the launching of the North Atlantic Pact and the war upon North Korea. From then on, all the profits, investments, and production figures of U.S. Big Business became linked to one single item—the government's war budget.

Through armaments production, the monopolies accelerate the turnover of their capital, turning goods faster into money, and this again into goods. It speeds the flow of their investments and boosts the profit rate ever upward.

But above all, it enables them to *realize* their profits by liberating them from the strangling chains of the civilian goods market.* Tanks, bombs and machine-guns have no price ceilings. Problems of price and competition are more or less eliminated. All buying and selling transactions become highly simplified. These are usually consummated between two individuals, both of whom are members of the armament company. One acts as the seller and the other as the appointed "government" buyer. As Charles E. Wilson, the General Motors defence chief put it: "What is good for General Motors is good for the country." A few "Soviet aggression" headlines, plus mink coats or dollar wads to some White House or Pentagon officials provide orders unlimited.

In 1952 armaments were already devouring 70% of the government budget, besides much of our national resources. In 1937-38, U.S. per capita armament expenditures stood at about eight dollars. In 1952 they soared to \$400 for each man, woman and child. Thirty cents out of every dollar earned by the average American in 1952 went for taxes.**

To impress the public with their "sacrifices," the trusts frequently point to their big tax payments. Remington Arms Co., for example, may boast that it paid \$10 million in taxes

* Although 75% or 90% of a given company's productive capacity may be devoted to civilian consumption and only 25% or 10% to armament orders, it is the latter which is decisive for its investors. The 75% or 90% of production usually covers the cost of plant maintenance, rent, bond and interest charges, salaries, wages, etc. Corporations usually refer to this part of production as the "break-even" point, or the point of "distress and danger." It is the additional 10% or 25% which yields them the enormous superprofits. Thus, most corporations show 100% to 400% and even higher gains in net profits after only a 15% to 30% rise in sales. As compared to 1950, General Electric's 1951 profit, for example, was 500% higher than the rise of its sales. Acme Steel sales in 1951 rose 17%; its profits, 90%.

** The Tax Foundation, a private research group, estimated that a family of three persons with an income of \$3,500 paid \$800 in indirect taxes and \$299 in direct federal income taxes, close to a third of its income.

in 1951 as against two million the year before. But its net 1951 profit (after taxes) actually rose to eight million instead of the two million it garnered in 1950. Similarly, Kennecott Copper Corp. in the first six months of 1950 paid \$17 million in taxes, while its profits were \$37 million. For the same period in 1951 its taxes rose to \$48 million—but its net profits jumped to over \$50 million. These figures are characteristic for almost every corporation receiving war orders. This alone makes it obvious that the munition makers are not the ones who foot the armament bill. In reality, all corporation taxes are nothing but fictitious transactions. They do not come out of profits, but out of the price mark-up, above and beyond the super-profits. Corporations regard taxes as any other business expense and include them in their cost of production to pass on to the consumer. This is true of all corporation taxes, but especially so of taxes on armament production.

In former times, some ruling classes on the verge of insolvency “inflated” their currencies by openly chipping or diluting the gold content of their coins. Nowadays, the thievery is far more staggering and better hidden. Through price and currency inflation, the capitalists impose continuous “quiet” wage cuts. No sooner do the workers gain a wage raise than prices soar.*

The inflationary armament cycle enables the trusts to suck up a still greater portion of the country's wealth. With its men in control of the government, the treasury and fiscal policies, they create for themselves an abundant supply of money through loans, credit expansion, etc. The total merger of industrial and finance capital gives Big Business

* Edward H. Collins, *New York Times* economist, wrote that, “In current dollars, the nation is nearly twice as wealthy as it was, say, 20 years ago. Using 1929 dollars on both sides of the equation, however, and allowing for changes in population, we find that there was a decline in per capita wealth from \$3,400 to about \$3,200 between 1938 and 1948.” Inflation and government spending, he showed, “make the gross national product figures as an index of the nation's solvency and economic well-being, pretty much of an optical illusion.” (*New York Times*, June 16, 1952.)

additional control over credits and enables it to dominate smaller competing enterprises. This domination becomes almost absolute as the smaller enterprises are compelled to apply for loans and credits, because of the sky-rocketing cost of carrying inventories and new plant equipment. "The worst shortage in business today is cash," reported Wall Street finance circles. "Because of spiralling inflation, many little concerns all over the country, hard-pressed in the dog-eat-dog scramble for materials, are measuring their life expectancy in terms of weeks."

During the inflationary boom many small enterprises are driven into bankruptcy or sell out or merge with the big trusts. Armament production thus accelerates the concentration and centralization of capital. Between 1950 and 1952, 10 large manufacturing companies got 40%, 20 got 50% and 52 companies commanded 66% of the total volume of armament contracts. This shows a much higher concentration than during the second World War when 10 manufacturing companies controlled 30%, and 100 companies 66% of the war contracts. Moreover, the big trusts are given billions by the government in direct subsidies and tax amortization schemes to build new plants for themselves at the taxpayers' expense at a time when many already-established small business plants are idle for lack of orders. In addition, Big Business, by virtue of its control over essential raw materials, prices and huge supplies of money, is able to buy more cheaply and sell more dearly. The inflationary spiral therefore enables it to acquire more plants, properties, shares, bonds and commodities. After gobbling up the country's material wealth, credits and savings, the monopolists welcome a deflationary spiral.*

* In 1939, U.S. Steel had less than \$20 million in government bonds. In 1951 it had \$361 million and General Motors and Bethlehem Steel owned a total of \$1.2 billion in government bonds. The national debt, which rose from \$30 billion to \$270 billion during the war period, is now owned almost wholly by the wealthy. This gives them, not only about seven billion dollars of annual interest, but also a permanent lien on the national wealth and full control over government credit and fiscal policies, which they juggle to suit their ends.

The Spectre of a New Depression

At times, U.S. finance circles and their economic analysts speak as though they sense the economic catastrophe which the huge armament drive will eventually bring upon the country as a whole. Haunted by the fear of overcapacity and overproduction, *Fortune*, the magazine of Big Business, declared: "If the U.S. is not yet worrying much about the strength of its economy, it soon will be." Economists consider that without the military spending "which is now running at the rate of \$51 billion a year and is still rising... there would be 8 to 10 million unemployed more than currently." To eliminate the fear that the crisis may come sooner than expected, *Fortune*, like the other Big Business journals, consoles itself that a \$5 billion-a-month armament expenditure will keep business going for at least a few more years. After that, they admit, the deluge is inevitable.

Staff economists of the U.S. Department of Commerce, in a report released in February 1953, stated that the six post-war years of high output were made possible by transient factors. "We are sitting on an economic time bomb," said Eric Johnston. "If inflation gets away from us, communism would win without firing a shot," warn the Hooverites. Even the economic predictions of a Truman always contained the contradictory statements that "our economy was never as prosperous," but unless the threat of further inflation is checked, it will spell disaster. Indeed, the patient, while getting stronger, is always in danger of collapse.

Although university professors bury it under a mountain of economic verbiage, the reason why this ominous shadow pursues capitalist arms prosperity is simple enough. Armament expenditures are financed by means of taxes or through borrowing and credit expansion. Both cut the people's capacity to consume. This leads to cutbacks in those industries whose products are destined for civilian consumption. To stave off the crisis in the civilian goods industries, the trusts seek to reconvert ever more of them

into "defence production" factories. Armament expenditures are raised still higher. This leads to still higher taxes, more inflation, further restrictions on consumption, and the outbreak of another overproduction crisis in the civilian goods sector—and so, to more armaments to take up the slack, and around again.

From this vicious circle, leading inexorably to economic collapse and national bankruptcy, no capitalist war and armament economy can eventually escape.

Choked by the "overproduction" crisis, the U.S. consumers' goods industries at first experienced some "relief" from the down-pour of war orders.* (More than 50% of the military budget goes for payrolls, subsistence, and consumers' goods.) However, the money to pay for it came from the pockets of the working people. Yesterday's happy manufacturer clutching a government contract for a million pairs of Army shoes or shirts turned dour again as he noted the drop in sales destined for civilian consumption.

Thus, in 1951, while the arms corporations doubled and trebled their profits, many consumers' goods industries reported either lower or stationary sales and profits. Armaments, it is clear, cannot solve the "overproduction" problems of the consumers' goods industries.

The durable and the capital goods industries, of course, experience an altogether different kind of "relief." The multi-billion dollar tank, gun and military vehicle orders make the locomotive, tool or automobile trusts temporarily independent of the civilian market altogether.

Independent of the civilian market, but not of the civilians. Unfortunately for the munition kings, the 60

* According to 1953 government figures, seven million workers are directly or indirectly engaged in the defence programme and 3.6 million are in the armed services. These, however, affect the employment of about another 10 million workers. In 1952, 50% of the output of machine tool manufacturers, about 60% of the output of the electronics industry, 20% of the output of the farm machinery concerns, and 86% of the business of the aircraft companies was on government contract. (See Arnold A. Rogow, "Defense or Depression." *The Nation*, May 30, 1953.)

million American workers have to consume to be able to work. Hence there is a limit to the number of civilian goods factories that can be converted into death industries. And those that cannot be so converted have to curtail production because of lowered demand.

Some millions of workers are absorbed by the Army. But not all of them are fit to serve as cannon fodder. At any rate, neither the Army nor unemployed workers can provide the billions necessary to finance the mounting armament bills. Hence the crisis in the consumers' goods industries ultimately also affects the financing of armament production and the economy as a whole.

By January 1951 the war in Korea had raised the U.S. industrial index to 223. This, said Truman in his economic message of January 12, 1951, "demonstrated the soundness of our economic structure." But there was no soundness. Production continued high in the war and capital goods industries, but fluctuated wildly in the consumers' goods industries. Unemployment hit the New York clothing industry as well as the civilian metal products industry. The stock market suffered periodic sinking spells, especially when hit by "peace rumours." The press was studded with items like these: The International Shoe Co., like other non-durable goods manufacturers, was going to "suspend operations for a while." "Some manufacturers say they can't remember periods that were so devoid of orders," reported the *New York Times* on April 4, 1951. A short time later it declared that "In a canvass of New York's metal plants, the average cutback in civilian production was 50%"; and "Unless more war work is obtained, the owners are threatened with a complete shutdown."

Despite rising war expenditures, industrial production as a whole was no higher in 1952 than in 1951. The pipelines of industry and trade were clogged with idle goods. Business inventories approached \$75 billion at the end of 1952. This was almost 100% higher than three years earlier and 250% higher than in 1943. In addition, the government had three billion dollars tied up in surplus farm products, over four billion dollars in surplus industrial

materials in the form of a military stockpile, and so much in surplus munitions that spending for warehouses had to be sharply increased.

Desperately trying to keep goods moving, banks and industrial companies resorted to reckless extension of credits. Consumer credit jumped more than three billion dollars in 1952 alone, reaching \$24 billion, which was over four times the level at the end of 1945.

Still the basic gap between productive capacity and the purchasing power of the population kept on widening. Financial organs declared that "progress of armaments is continuing at a rate well beyond that of the last war, but in many lines *there is a surplus of production above the combined requirements of civilian and defence plants.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.) A "surplus of production"—because in 1951 alone, labour productivity rose six per cent while real wages dropped four per cent.

The following statement by the editors of the *New York Journal of Commerce* on July 14, 1952, fully uncovered the depth of American capitalism's decay at mid-century. They wrote: "*Actually, nothing short of the present gigantic defence programme could have successfully filled the air pocket in the civilian sector of the economy. . . . It currently takes \$50,000,000,000 dollars defence expenditures annually just to hold the current level of business activity. . . . The question that bothers a lot of business men and economists is whether the air pocket in the civilian economy from here on is likely to increase further or contract. . . . Some of our economist friends feel strongly that the defence programme already has reached the point where it is self-defeating. . . . If it (the air pocket) keeps on increasing, the defence programme won't be sufficient any longer to prevent a cyclical business decline. . . . The record shows that for the past 15 months, it has taken greater and greater defence expenditures just to hold business on an even keel. In plain words, we had to run faster and faster, just to stand still.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

This explains why, as *never before*, even the faintest rumour that "next year's war budget may not come up to

expectations" is enough to throw the American monopolists into fits of despair. Moreover, before turning their stupendous capital accumulations into war production, they demanded guarantees, not only that the cold war be kept going, but of the probability of an early hot war. Only thus can their investments finally be "amortized." "Without a shooting war," wrote J. D. Tompkins in the *Herald Tribune*, "the big industrial concerns would be likely to have another look and see at their expansion programme."

Dr. Eisenhower at the Bedside

Meanwhile, the signs of an impending crash were multiplying. By 1953 they had become so clear that the unusual happened—the spokesmen for Big Business saw the handwriting on the wall before the crash. Virtually every official and Big Business journal was predicting a serious slump. The U.S. Department of Commerce considered it likely to begin in 1954 and get serious in 1955. The Guarantee Trust Bulletin said it would occur sometime between 1954 and 1956.

The signs are unmistakable. The artificial factors which created the business boom are tapering off. The equipping of new war plants has been largely completed. The permanent factors are beginning to assert themselves. Factory output is running ever further ahead of sales. "Manufacturers had added \$22 billion in new plant and equipment," wrote the *U.S. News & World Report*, "but the trouble is that demand is just about what it was two years ago... The developing surpluses are painful and prices are falling."

In 1945, only 21% of cars were purchased on time; in 1952, 75% of total sales were on credit. All told, more than 60% of consumers' durable goods were being sold on credit. The Department of Commerce on April 21, 1953 gave \$82 billion as the amount people owed on instalment purchases and other short-term credits. (This compares with \$24 billion in 1945.) Total private debts spiralled to

\$307 billion from \$141 billion in 1945. This inverted pyramid, some economists warned, might soon tumble over.

With all this, "the income of farmers in terms of purchasing power," reported the Department of Agriculture in December 1952, "is already at the lowest point for the last 10 years." Exports and prices of most commodities were falling; corn, wheat, cotton, butter, and tobacco, as well as other agricultural products, were piling up as surpluses. (Some 500 million pounds of cheese and dried milk were already spoiling in government storage.)

By September 1953 the Korean war boom was losing its momentum. Steel operations, new housing construction and average weekly hours of work drifted downward. Manufacturers' inventories rose by another three billion dollars and foreign trade was contracting. Automobile inventory accumulations were 70% above normal. Farm income dropped 13% below 1952,* but the official Cost of Living Index stood at the all time high of 191.4 (1935-1939 = 100). Forecasts of a "recession" became general as the spectre of the glutted market reappeared. On August 27, 1953 the *Journal of Commerce* noted "nearly everywhere you look today it is a question of too much of this and too much of that. Too much lead, too much zinc, too much copper."

At the end of 1953, production and employment again slid downward. The Federal Reserve Board index for November, dropped to 228 (from 243 in March, 1953). The index for steel production which reached 103 in 1952 dropped to 67 on December 29, 1953. Tens of thousands of workers were being laid off in every branch of industry. Official Labour Bureau figures (usually underestimated) gave the number of unemployed in December, 1953, as 1,850,000, a 30% increase over the number in August, 1953. *Business Week* of January 2, 1954, estimated that by February, 1954, the number of unemployed American workers will reach 2,500,000.

The deluge could no longer be postponed by ordinary

* Farm income in 1951 stood at \$15.5 billion; it dropped to \$14.5 billion in 1952 and to \$12.5 billion in 1953. (*Department of Commerce Report*, October 20, 1953.)

additions to arms spending. Only a super-armament transfusion and larger-scale killing than Korea could revive the sagging boom and keep corporation profits at the \$43 billion yearly level. But meanwhile, international developments forced a revision of the Pentagon war timetable. The previous World War III target dates had to be shelved. The Eisenhower-Big Business team realized that further and premature super-armament transfusions would lead to an early inflationary collapse and to a crisis whose repercussions might wreck its global military commitments. It was necessary to reappraise the war preparations programme to divorce it from the Truman talk about "our healthy, expanding economy."

Not to be "all dressed up" too early, with mountains of armaments, and no place to go, the Eisenhower team projected its so-called long-term stretchout armament programme. The aim of this plan is to bring about a controlled deflation, the descent to be held in check by armament spending—that is, lower wages and lower living standards for the people as a whole, but higher profits for Big Business, despite "limited" armament spending. This the Eisenhower men hope to accomplish by the following measures:

- 1) Shutting off military orders from small plants and concentrating the output of arms in du Pont, General Motors, General Electric, and other Morgan-Mellon-Rockefeller combines.

- 2) Lowering the "tax burden" of Big Business and those with incomes above \$20,000 a year.

- 3) Transferring billions from workers, farmers and small business men to the tills of the millionaires by raising interest rates.

The U.S. private and national debt in 1953 amounted to about \$600 billion. Most of this debt represented by bonds, mortgages, etc., is owned by the big capitalists. A two per cent rise in the interest rate means a shift of many billions in the distribution of the national income. The Eisenhower men thus raised interest rates to the highest level since 1933. (They raised the prevailing interest rate on hundreds of billions of long and short-term government bonds by 25

to 50%.* Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* estimated that the higher interest rate on government bonds alone would cost the taxpayers \$100 billion in the next 25 years. The deflationary cycle, they hope, will enrich the money interests in still another way. Having received a fifty-cent inflated dollar, the borrower will be compelled to repay his debt in a deflated hundred-cent dollar.

4) Turning over to Big Business some \$120 billions' worth of government-owned synthetic oil plants, atomic factories, public utilities, dams, waterways, banking, insurance and housing projects, plus some \$40 billion in tideland oil reserves.

5) Limiting all "fair deal" projects for extending rural electrification, soil reclamation, slum clearance, health, education and other public welfare projects.

6) Creating "limited" unemployment, a looser labour market, to throttle the workers' wage demands, thereby stepping up the rate of profit.

The Lease Runs Out

All this shows that the driving force of the big trusts is neither the logical pursuit of economic stability nor a finely calculated effort to prolong the life of the capitalist system. The main thing is very crude indeed. It is the drive to accumulate enormous profits *today*, without regard to consequences. Stalin, in his final work, defined this most carefully in his statement of the basic economic law of modern capitalism: "The securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin, and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and lastly, through wars and militarization of the national

* In 1946 the national debt stood at 279.8 billion and interest charges came to 4.7 billion. In 1953 the government paid 6.4 billion interest on a 272.6 billion debt.

economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits."

In succeeding chapters we shall see how the armament economy is utilized to press for fascism at home, to turn the state into a tool for funnelling the nation's wealth and labour into the pockets of the financial oligarchy, to organize the nation for all-out war, to institute a reign of terror in order to silence all opposition.

For the moment, let us note that the armament economy is the symbol of extreme decay and the utter corruption of economic life. Whereas once profit could be made by supplying part of man's necessities of life, now profits can be made only by supplying the means of his death.

Of course, capitalist war preparations are not conditioned by economic factors alone. All the internal and external features of the crisis interact, telescope into and affect each other, culminating in the war drive. But once capitalist armament production attains a certain level, it begins to act as an *independent* war-propelling force in itself. This has reached its peak historical development in the United States today.

Disposing of bigger markets and draining the wealth of many countries, the U.S. trusts reached their final crisis stage a few decades later than those in the other capitalist countries.

The contradictions of American capitalism are advancing with seven-league boots. Its contradictions are crystallizing, reaching a qualitatively higher level. The discrepancy between production and purchasing power is assuming gigantic proportions. U.S. economy has reached a point where it can no longer expand, or function as before. The framework of the system, under which vast amounts of goods produced by the American working class become the property of a tiny handful of individuals, is nearing its point of breakdown.

For the first time, armament outlays have become the *continuous and permanent mainstay* of the U.S. economy. After each armament injection Wall Street's financial organs usually report "a new lease on life was taken by the stock

and commodity markets." The "lease," however, quickly runs out. After each relapse, the sagging capitalist economy, like a morphine addict, needs ever bigger injections to get the "revival" effect.

Formerly, the destruction of some goods (by dumping them in the ocean or pouring gasoline over them) plus a few billion dollars' worth of armaments was often enough to give the trusts a temporary breathing spell. Now, in its general crisis stage of cancerous decay, \$100 billion remedies hardly quicken their pulse. And the speed with which the cyclical crisis of overproduction outpaces the piling of billions upon billions of armament spending is a clear omen that the breakdown of U.S. monopoly capitalism under staggering contradictions is fast approaching.

Wars, it is said, are to capitalism what lava is to a volcano. In its terminal phase, the volcano of monopoly capitalism in its entirety tends to turn into war lava. For, armament production is no longer merely one of the economic expressions of capitalist crisis, but *the* expression. It is monopoly capitalism's chief way of attaining maximum profits—the law ruling its existence. War and armament production are therefore no longer cyclical but permanent features of world capitalism. Permanent—until the American people, in unity with all the world peace forces, curb or abolish the malignant power of the war breeding monopolies.

In the meantime, the conclusion is inescapable that regardless of any temporary lowering of war tensions, the danger of a third world war remains as acute as ever so long as the monopolies refuse to enter into any agreement leading to the banning and destruction of weapons of mass destruction, and insist on continuing the armament race.

Chapter III

Decline of West European Capitalism

THE FOUNDATION supporting the political, military and economic power of the West European ruling classes, as shown by R. Palme Dutt in *The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire*, rested, not on rising investments and production for the home market but on the continued export of capital and tributes from the cheap labour power of Asia, Africa and the East European and Balkan countries. In this pre-war period, 25% of West European imports were paid for, not by exports of manufactured goods, but by raw materials stolen from the colonial areas and sold principally to the USA. Today this parasitic existence on the basis of tribute from empire can no longer be maintained. The stream of pounds and francs obtained from the exploitation of millions of peasants and workers in the colonial countries is drying up. The superprofits on investments in China and the East European countries are no more. "The colonial crisis appeared in its superficial form as a dollar crisis." From this, plus U.S. forcing up of exports and damming imports "follows the apoplexy of the capitalist world." To raise that tribute they must intensify the exploitation of the colonial peoples, raise ever bigger armies for the conduct of colonial wars. But this in turn intensifies their bankruptcy and financial insolvency. In short, the crumbling of West European capitalism is linked with the crack-up of imperialism as a world system.

During World War II the U.S. trusts penetrated various colonial and dependent areas until then controlled by the West European powers. But Wall Street's growing surpluses of capital and goods called for still bigger markets and investment areas. The U.S. trusts turned, therefore, toward

the West European countries with the view of subjugating their economics to the needs of U.S. finance capital as well as to gain a firmer grip on the markets and raw materials of the colonial areas still in their possession.

The realization of this plan seemed possible. To stave off their downfall, the weakened oligarchies of Western Europe leaned heavily upon American aid. They leaned, above all, on American guns and bayonets to maintain their class rule against the rising West European working masses. "Better Hitler than a Popular Front government"—the slogan of the French ruling class in the 1930's—now turned into "Better American occupation than Communist participation in the government." Thus, while acting as *gendarme* for the 200 families of Rome and Paris, Washington also reasoned: If a Venezuelan or Nicaraguan bandit chief can be bought to serve as agent of the Rockefellers and Morgans, why not a Moch, a Pleven, a De Gasperi, or a Spaak?

Although semi-bankrupt, France, Britain and Italy still possessed big industries and considerable economic power. The plan, therefore, was to weaken them still further, either by controlling their industries, or eliminating them as competitors in the world market. To make it worthwhile for the ruling circles themselves to sell out their national interests to the American trusts, the plan called for subsidizing a section of the big bourgeoisie, greasing their palms, and helping them transform their capital into American bonds and shares. All that and more, Washington hoped, would be accomplished in the first stage of the Marshall Plan.

American "Aid" to the Rescue

When the Marshall Plan was launched, many honest people were taken in by its label of "economic aid." They denied charges that it was a means for exploiting the West European peoples and a war and armaments scheme. Washington organized "truth campaigns" in an attempt to refute these charges.

The economic aims of the Marshall Plan became evident as soon as it began to function. Europe needed tractors, fertilizers, machine tools, to restore its peacetime industries. Instead, it received tobacco, powdered eggs, Hollywood films, soft drinks, shoddy textiles, and other surplus products which the monopolists got rid of at the expense of the American taxpayer. *Altogether, less than six per cent of the total American "aid" to Europe consisted of materials to serve industrial expansion.* American "aid" soon intensified economic chaos by flooding the West-European countries with U.S. goods and thereby weakening local industry and agriculture.

Holland, for example, needed markets for its cheese and milk products. It not only found the American market closed by a high tariff wall, but was compelled to distribute 20,000 tons of American powdered milk. Italy, an exporter of macaroni and vegetable oils, had to import these products from the United States. Through a series of manipulations, the American trusts compelled the Western countries to buy coal from them at \$22 a ton, although they could obtain it in Europe at half the price. The steel, mining and ship-building industries, and numerous smaller enterprises, sharply curtailed their operations. In Belgium, France, Italy and Western Germany unemployment spiralled in 1948 and relief applications doubled and trebled after the first year of American aid.

The Economic Cooperation Administration (the Marshall Plan operating agency) reported that nations outside the Marshall Plan showed a faster rate of recovery despite greater handicaps. Between 1951 and 1952 industrial production increased 11% in the USSR, and between 17% and 23% in the People's Democracies. At the same time, production increased in only six of the European capitalist countries, while falling in nine, and staying the same in one.*

* The United Nations World Economic Report, issued June 1949, showed the 1948 industrial production index of Italy at 89 (1938 = 100); that of Greece at 70, of France at 100, and Britain at 110. The index of Poland, a country a hundred times more devastated and without U.S. aid, stood at 141. However, in all statistical compari-

The biggest increase—in Western Germany—was seven per cent. In the United Kingdom there was a three per cent drop.

In 1950-51 the Marshall Plan threatened Italy's industries with total ruin. As production became unprofitable, many capitalists closed down their factories, some of them transferring their plants from Italy to South America. In Milan, Bolzano, Bologna, Turin, Genoa, and other cities, hundreds of thousands of workers faced starvation. The Ansaldo industries "are in a hopeless state," reported C. M. Cianfarra in the *New York Times* from Genoa. "It had employed 35,000 but there was enough work only for fewer than 4,000. Under present conditions, it (Ansaldo) is ill-prepared to meet the challenge of private competition' (meaning, of course, American competition).

"It is an open question, when we consider the present French and British crises," wrote Henry Hazlitt in *Newsweek* on December 3, 1951, "whether Europe would not be better off today if we had never given it a dollar of Marshall aid." The chief beneficiaries of Marshall Plan gifts, paid for by American workers through higher taxes and higher prices, were the big monopolies. It provided them with a ready market for disposing their surplus goods. This in turn supported monopoly prices and profits within the U.S.A.*

With Marshall Plan money a handful of American trusts bought up numerous strategic industries in Western Europe. Many key French industries, like steel, oil and chemical

sons with 1938, one must remember that in that year Europe was in the throes of a depression. In Britain, tens of thousands of miners were permanently unemployed. In 1938, French output was only 75% of 1929.

* John Eaton showed that in the end Britain was made to pay for the Marshall Plan aid it received. In 1949 Wall Street forced the City to devalue the pound in relation to the dollar. As a result Britain paid for its 1950-51 imports from the U.S.A. £375 million above the amount it would have paid at the old rate of exchange. This overpayment surpassed the total Marshall Plan aid that Britain received during those two years by £44 million. (John Eaton, *Economics of Peace and War*, New York, 1953.)

enterprises, numerous commercial establishments and banks, came under the control of the Morgan, Chase, Dillon Reed, and Rockefeller empires. Some British industries were brought under the partial control of a U.S. director of "defence" production. Marshall Plan money also bought the "loyalty" of some West European politicians, and their publications as well. It financed various anti-Soviet and anti-working class campaigns and subsidized numerous war criminals in Western Germany, Austria and elsewhere.

Coca Cola Jells into Napalm

Still, the Western countries could not absorb or cushion the American crisis of overproduction. In fact, the more American "aid" they received, the fewer dollars they earned by means of their own exports on the capitalist world market, and the less they were able to buy. The purchasing power of the American workers, on the other hand, was being cut by the very tax burden imposed to pay for the Marshall Plan aid. The monopolists, naturally, turned to their classical solution for all surpluses—the export of armaments. Almost overnight, Marshall Plan powdered milk and Coca Cola jelled into napalm and explosives.

As soon as the U.S. arms programme went into high gear, the professed aim of the Marshall Plan, to raise living standards of the West European peoples, was quickly dropped. Thomas K. Finletter, chairman of ECA for Britain, reported on February 10, 1949, that under his administration "the housing programme has been quite seriously cut back, so has the health programme and so has the programme for education." "The Marshall Plan is proper as a military measure but stinks as a business project," declared Joseph K. Frazer, one of its administrators, at a press conference in Rome early in 1951. With the signing of the Atlantic Pact treaty in 1949 and the appointment of a U.S. Commander-in-Chief for the West European military forces, MP economic administrators were replaced by navy, army and air force

personnel. Marshall Plan aid became geared to the war budgets of the West European countries. For every million dollars' worth of powdered eggs, they were ordered to produce a given number of bombs or machine-guns. Thus, France in 1949 received 280 billion francs in "aid" but, on Washington's orders, spent 387 billion for arms.

Still the tanks and planes had to be paid for, and American shippers and manufacturers demanded payment not in Greek drachmas or in Italian lire, but in their own hard coin. And a perplexing problem arose: How was Europe to pay for these weapons? Part of the dollars were supplied by Marshall Plan aid. But it was impossible to saddle the American workers with the *entire* cost of protecting the "freedom" of Italian or Greek peasants and workers. Some Washington experts attempted to work out an ingenious solution. On February 12, 1951, they released a statement listing the items the West European peoples were to ship to the U.S.A. in exchange for U.S. arms. The Italians were to supply various "food delicacies, such as fancy cheeses, pitted cherries and Vermouth." "The British will furnish the U.S. candy, special liqueurs and cordials"; the French workers, "brandy and champagnes; the Dutch, cocoa and sweet biscuits; the Portuguese, anchovies; the Germans, spiced hams; the Swedes, special rye breads, and the Greeks, olives."

But, as could be expected, this neat arrangement ran into hopeless snags. For one thing, the annual West European output of these food delicacies far outstripped the buying capacity of the American market. Worse, numerous West European workers began to suspect a connection between their miserable living conditions and the pitted cherries for their American "benefactors."

While arming for the first and second world wars, the West European ruling class could still make ends meet; *i.e.*, provide at least the employed workers with a minimum of calories to sustain life. At present, they seem unable to do this. Even bourgeois economists speak of the new armament load as the last straw. Tighten your belts still further, Paris, London and Rome exhorted their workers. But even

before the armament spree, wages and living conditions of the majority of the West European workers were so low that any further reductions spelled catastrophe.

The Marshall Plan, above all the military aspects for which it was designed, intensified the decay of West European capitalism. A report by the U.S. International Chamber of Commerce published in May 1949, said, "When ECA aid ends in 1953, Europeans will face the prospect of becoming the pensioners of the United States or lowering their living standards." Indeed, a survey of the armament and belt-tightening programme of the present-day leaders in Britain, France and Italy suggests a group of shipwrecked skippers rushing to scuttle their own craft.

Empire and Austerity in Britain

Since the end of the War Britain has been suspended in a state of perpetual crisis. The Chancellors of the Exchequer issue ever-gloomier predictions of impending national bankruptcy. Some are intended to reinforce their frantic pleas for Wall Street money, as well as to bolster their demand for bigger "sacrifices by the public." But it is an undeniable fact that the British oligarchy, with all its imperial wealth, all the science, technology, industry and available skilled labour, can no longer even properly feed its working masses. It is short of meat, coal, butter, eggs, housing. According to Dr. A. Bicknell, British health authority, the average Englishman in 1947 was consuming daily only 2,100 food calories, while the minimum required is 3,000.

Josué de Castro, the noted Brazilian sociologist, citing the research of Lord Boyd-Orr, British industrialist and food expert, shows that in 1952, almost 50% of the British population did not get enough to eat. These figures have been confirmed by the investigations of Sir William Crawford. De Castro also cites the medical testimony of 600 regional doctors in Cheshire who declared that they could do almost nothing toward preventing disease, because most

ailments were due to a permanently defective diet. More than 137,000 workers suffering from tuberculosis, British health agencies reported, do not receive any hospitalization and are spreading the disease to others. According to R. Palme Dutt, there were in 1951 "over half a million people on the waiting list for hospital beds" but "no new hospitals have been constructed since the war."

Britain's national income was \$33.5 billion in 1950. Calculations of the Labour Research Department based on official government statistics showed that in 1950 43% of the national income went for workers' wages and the pay of the armed forces and 35% to the tiny section of the population which lives on rent, interest and profits. While the Attlees talked about "socialism," the profits of the British monopolists broke all-time records, and workers' consumption reached the lowest level in years. In 1951, prices of bread, meat and butter were 22, 50, and 55% higher, respectively, than in 1947. Millions of workers lead the life of paupers on \$10 to \$20 a week. Over 40% of the adult population in Britain, in a Gallup Poll conducted in 1948, expressed the desire to leave Britain if they could.

According to the 1953 United Nations *Economic Survey of Europe*, the living standards of the British people have fallen far below the depression era. As compared with the average for 1934-38, 1951-52 per capita consumption of meat dropped 23%, of sugar, 20%, of milk and milk products, 17%. Per capita consumption of clothing and durable household articles showed a 12% and 13% decline.

It must be emphasized that these official figures fail by far to show the full drop in living standards. For the figures on consumption include the luxury living of the wealthy and the share of British produce going to the hundreds of thousands of American soldiers, officials, and tourists crowding the British Isles.

The establishment of a national health service was the only outstanding concession to British labour during the rule of the Labour Party. Aside from this, not one large-scale project to raise the living standards of the British working people was carried out by the London government

during the entire postwar period. Even the devastated areas—relatively few compared with those of Eastern Europe—have not been fully rebuilt. "Socialism in our day" was the promise of the Bevin-Attlee Labour Party leaders to the British workers. To buy the coal mines from the capitalists was one of the Labourites' big ventures. This was a pseudo-nationalization measure to fool their electorate, for the profits continued to flow to the mine owners in the form of interest on the bonds they received for their property claims. The government helped the owners by managing for them a sick, rundown industry. All other "nationalization" projects failed because of the absurdity of a plan to get the British people, 90% of whom possess less than 100 pounds, to buy the Bank of England, the railroads, steel mills, etc., from their billionaire owners.*

The postwar Labour Party promises of better food and housing, either through alleged "nationalization" or benevolent American aid, faded into thin air. "Take the British," Truman declared on March 6, 1952, "they are down to 16 cents worth of meat a week. They could have more if it were not for their defence sacrifices." The British workers "could have more," for their total output between 1945 and 1950 increased by 50%, but the volume of most of that increase, however, went for the support of Britain's finance oligarchy. In 1952 Britain spent 1634 million pounds on armaments, fourteen times as much as in the year before the First World War and six times the amount it spent on the eve of the World War II. These gigantic expenditures provided the shield for the intensified exploitation of the rising colonial and dependent peoples. Dependent on tributes from foreign investments the British finance oligarchy hitched its fortunes to Washington's global cold war programme, but at the price of greater deficits, further weakening and stagnation of home

* "As a result of nationalization measures already passed," reported Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour government, "gilt-edged stocks quoted on the Stock Exchange will soon have increased from £15,000 millions to £17,000 million." (*New Statesmen and Nation*, February 21, 1948.)

industries and by imposing ruinous burdens upon Britain's working masses.

"Free Enterprise" in France and Italy

The moribund French capitalist economy presents a similar picture. Having reached its peak in 1913, it has since remained in a state of virtual stagnation. Here, too, the parasitic dependence of finance capital on foreign investments, on tributes from the extraction of raw materials and exploitation of the population of Viet Nam, Morocco, Algiers, Madagascar and West Africa, led to shrinking investments in home industries, their gradual obsolescence and decay. According to the *U.N. Statistical Year Book* published in 1952, overall production in France, in 1950, was only about 20% higher than in 1913. In 1951, even the output of France's highly-developed silk, rayon and cotton textile industries still hovered around the 1938 level. According to official French government data overall production in 1952 declined by 10% as compared with 1951.

Building and construction in 1952 were 33% below the 1930 level, with 300,000 fewer workers employed. With its urban buildings more than 70 years old on the average, France needs a minimum of 250,000 new homes annually to eliminate its squalid housing conditions. Even at this rate, it would take 40 years before decent housing would be available for the majority of the people. During 1949-52 the average number of dwellings constructed annually was 75,000, and many of these were for the wealthy. This dooms the majority of the French people to slum dwellings.

The Monnet Plan, launched with great fanfare after the war to raise output and living standards, was shelved. Despite desperate measures to increase exports, and a total tax burden on the masses several times higher than in 1938, none of the many Paris cabinets can balance the budget or attain a favourable trade balance.

Even before World War II, the French ruling class could not provide enough food, clothing and decent shelter for its

people, although it controlled one of the world's most fertile lands, not to speak of the untold riches of a vast empire. Rearmament, U.S. vassalage, the war against the people of Viet Nam, and galloping inflation have made the situation worse.*

In 1938, the workers' share of the national income was 45%; in 1950, it dropped to 29.5%. The capitalists' share rose in the same period from 34% to 54%.

For the majority of the French workers, heat, clothing, light and proper food have become luxuries. Although 80% of their wages went for food and clothing the 1950 consumption of butter and footwear, for example, was 20% to 30% less than in 1938. After bitter mass strikes and long wrangling with the government, the latter finally consented, in September, 1953, to raise the workers' *minimum monthly* wage to \$62.85.

The French peasantry fares even worse. According to 1950 official statistics, three per cent of the big landowners hold 30% of the arable land, while 80% of the peasants (1,700,000 farm families) possess only 25%. In the last decade evictions struck close to a million small peasant farms, later absorbed by the big landowners. These peasants now work as sharecroppers or low-paid agricultural workers on the big estates.

Free enterprise in Italy has disintegrated even further than in France. Large sections of Italy's working masses suffer slow starvation. According to 1951 Rome government statistics, of Italy's 10,732,000 families, 7,836,000 earned less than \$15 a week. Per capita food calories dropped from 2,700 in 1938 to 2,300 in 1951. Yearly overall per capita in-

* The Seine Department's official suicide statistics clearly illustrate the worsening living conditions of the French people. In 1946, this region (which includes the Paris area) reported 477 deaths from suicide and 189 attempted suicides, or a total of 666. In 1947, with the start of the Marshall Plan, the figure rose to 1,473 cases (679 deaths by suicide and 794 attempts); in 1950, to 2,991 (1,273 and 1,645.) In 1951 the total number of successful as well as attempted suicides was six times higher than in 1946. (Gillette Ziegler in *L'Humanité*, November 21, 1951.)

come was two dollars a week. Average purchase by the masses, government statistics showed, was one pair of stockings a year and one pair of shoes every five years. There were nearly three million unemployed and three million semi-employed workers. Italy in 1951 had 3.5 million listed as paupers and 1.5 million as old age pensioners, subsisting on one to three dollars a week.

Taking Italy's 1914 industrial output and per capita income as 100, we get 1928 production as 110 and income at 83; 1948 production as 145 and per capita income at 66. Two per cent of the population receives 33% of Italy's national income, while 50% of the population receives only 12%. In 1950, for each 65,000 lire paid out in wages, Italian textile factory owners made 715,000 lire in profit.

In Central Italy, 55% of the towns and villages have no electricity, 93% no gas. In southern Italy and Sicily, bare cement or stone cubicles, some of them unfit even for cattle, serve as "homes." In Milan, tens of thousands, including children, live in pits near sewer pipes. Around Rome and the Tiber valley, hundreds of thousands of workers dwell in barracks and caverns. Thousands inhabit the dank ruins of the ancient pre-Christian aqueducts along the famous Appian Way. For these lodgings, workers often pay 30% of their starvation wages in rent. Between 1945 and 1950 the Christian Democratic government erected 60,000 buildings, of which 30,000 were villas and mansions, and 12,000 establishments for churches and monasteries.

In 1952, the expenditures of the Rome government for schools stood at 10 lire, or two cents, per child. While 80,000 teachers are unemployed, 60% to 70% of the population in the South remain illiterate. Of Italy's 4.8 million children of school age, 2.2 million do not receive even an elementary education, and 30% of the communities have no schools.

Out of Italy's five million peasant families, 4.3 million families, or 84% of the total peasant population, have either no land or less than two and a half acres.* Close to three-

* Out of these, 800,000 were classified as middle peasants, one million with tiny plots of land as poor to very poor, and 2.5 million as landless.

fourths of all the arable land belongs to the church and the semi-feudal landowners.

The picture in the Grosseto province is typical. There, 34,000 peasant families own only three per cent of the land. The rest belongs to a few "nobles" by whom the peasants are "employed." Half of the harvest they raise with primitive tools and backbreaking toil goes to the *padrone*. Because of the lack of sewage disposal, many peasants succumb to typhoid and other epidemics. But sanitation costs money, and, as one of the peasants remarked about the prince *padrone*, "He always needs money"—for race horse stables, trips to Florida, and Monte Carlo gambling debts. Once or twice a year, I was told, he shows up, escorted by priests and carabinieri, warning the peasants of the "Communist danger."

Twelve million acres of land are available for distribution. However, dispossessing the feudal and church owners would spell the downfall of Washington's only friends in Italy.

As a result of mass pressure, in which Communists took a leading part, the De Gasperi government finally issued a plan, according to which the destitute peasants were to buy land from the owners for 65,000 lire per hectare, plus 3.66% interest. But even this spurious land reform act met with bitter opposition. J. D. Zellerbach (of Crown Zellerbach & Co.), the former American *gauleiter* in Italy, had warned: "We are not in favour of innovations."

To cover its political bankruptcy, Italy's clerico-feudal-capitalist regime talks of the country's lack of natural resources, overpopulation, and advocates emigration of the unemployed as the universal panacea. In 1947 about 240,000 jobless left Italy, mainly for Latin America. U.S. spokesmen, however, warned that "Italy could no longer hope to export its millions of unemployed, since other countries are having unemployment difficulties of their own." David Lawrence reported in *U.S. News & World Report* on July 4, 1952: "Italian Premier Alcide De Gasperi, is a very nice man. . . . We had a long talk. He said to me in effect, 'We try to export our goods, and we can't do it. We try to

export our miners to Britain, and they don't want them. We try to export our people to different parts of the world, and they can't go.' "

Such is the overall picture of the "free world" in Italy, a land of sunshine, fertile soil, highly-developed industries, and millions of skilled workers; well-fed landlords, bankers, and carabinieri on one side, and undernourished workers, spindle-legged and tubercular youngsters on the other. It is a land of sumptuous palaces and marble cathedrals ringed by a sea of poverty, where hungry children vie with scavenging sea gulls for the ocean's refuse on the shore, while giggling American tourists rave over Italy's marvellous cuisine; where swaggering American Marines, on their way to the dens and bordellos of Naples, throw coins to begging children; while offshore warships stand guard, just in case the people get any ideas.

Still worse is the situation in countries like Greece, where the Marshall Plan was imposed on top of "structural weaknesses" that had long put these countries behind in the race of European capitalism. Commenting on the tragic effect of U.S. military and economic aid upon the Greek economy, the Athens pro-government newspaper, *Eleftheria*, wrote in March 1952: "The whole population is conscious of a progressive asphyxia. . . . Destitution is general among salaried workers, peasants and merchants. Unemployment is increasing. Business is paralyzed. Prices are going up, and the country is in despair." The London *Daily Express* reported on September 2, 1952: "Close to a billion dollars has been spent by the U.S. since 1947, when it took over from us in Greece. Today much of that money is in the pockets of grafters. . . . The whole economic life of the country is being strangled to give the grafters and job holders their cuts."

Toppling of the Single World Market

After the second World War, unlike the period following the 1914-1918 conflict, world capitalism failed to regain even

a temporary kind of economic-financial stability. One-time simple commercial transactions have turned into enormously complex operations, impossible to consummate except through government channels. International exchange of goods, already in a state of semi-anarchy before the war, became more unbalanced. Except for the United States and Switzerland, the capitalist countries became insolvent. Their gold supply gravitated to Fort Knox: their currencies, rootless and gold-less, bobbed, swayed and capsized. Economic chaos and instability became permanent.

Since 1945, the main preoccupation of capitalist experts has been the frantic search for some kind of "balance"—for a balance between exports and imports; between dollar, pound, franc or rupee; or a balance of payments. Despite all efforts, crisis follows crisis. No sooner do a few million dollars prop the sagging walls of the Bank of England, than the crumbling French and Italian economies need new support. Losing confidence in their own currency, the European capitalists first hoarded their wealth in the form of dollars. But as inflation mounted, in the United States as well, they soon lost faith in the dollar and began to hoard gold.

Much of this growing instability is due to the disintegration of the former single world market, which Stalin termed the most important economic outcome of the second World War.

Before World War II the exchange of goods took place in a more or less unified world market, which included the USSR. After China and the countries of Eastern Europe entered the socialist camp, a new international market was formed. The 1953 U.N. Economic Survey showed that the exchange of goods between most of these countries has increased fivefold over the prewar level and in some instances tenfold.

The U.S.-imposed boycott of the vast markets represented by the USSR, China and the People's Democracies is depriving the West European countries of food and various raw materials. This policy also bars the West from the East European markets which traditionally absorbed large

quantities of manufactured goods. (In 1952 British trade with these countries dropped to one-sixth of that in 1937.) At the same time, Washington sealed off the U.S. home market from foreign goods. This, plus U.S. dumping of its own goods, added to the further dislocation of the world market. The capitalists are thus aggravating their own economic difficulties through boycott of the socialist camp.

Western Europe could have eliminated its most pressing deficit problems by trading with the Eastern European countries. The *Christian Science Monitor* on January 7, 1951, wrote, "Were European manufactured products again to flow eastward in return for Eastern raw materials, it is probable that Western Europe could swiftly regain its independence from American economic aid." Western Europe could furnish the Eastern European countries millions of tons of shipping, machine tools, railway equipment, etc., and receive all kinds of raw materials, foodstuffs, and also gold payments in return. For example, by cutting off exports to the USSR in 1952, Britain lost some 80% of the supply of fodder grain she previously received from the USSR. This cut British agricultural expansion. Lacking dollars for meat imports, the British cut meat rations to 24 cents weekly. Trade with the East would bring three square meals a day to millions of Italians, but it would also weaken Wall Street's hold upon the West European countries.

To some extent the boycott also reflects the imperialists' terror at the growing strength of the socialist world sector. Thus, the boycott is in itself an expression of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. Because the end of the boycott would ease the cold war, Washington threatens reprisals whenever it discovers its "allies" taking profitable orders from the East.

The blockade, instead of strangling the socialist camp, has further consolidated the new world market. The United Nations *Economic Survey of Europe*, issued March 5, 1953, reported that "The countries of Eastern Europe, not including Yugoslavia, have hit the targets set for them," and "show continued and rapid growth in industrial production. There are indications that if the present rates of expansion are

maintained, production and consumption of major industrial raw materials in the Soviet Union will be equal or be superior to that of the seven most industrialized countries of Western Europe."

Cannon and the Midas Touch

The economic imbalance between the United States and the rest of the capitalist countries is growing more acute. By 1953, U.S. industrial production constituted two-thirds of the capitalist world's output. Wall Street's accumulation of investment capital rose to four-fifths of the world total. Not only did this further weaken the other capitalist units, but it threw the entire world capitalist system out of gear.

Before the war, the total annual trade deficit of the rest of the world with the United States was about \$360 million. In 1947 it had risen nearly 32 times to \$11.5 billion. From 1946 to 1952 the total dollar deficit of the rest of the world to the United States mounted to \$34 billion, and only about four billion of this was met by the West Europeans with gold or dollar exports. "Their dependence on the U.S. was such that a 5% recession in the U.S. reacted upon them with nearly as much violence as the great depression 20 years ago," pointed out *New York Times* economic writer Michael Hoffman. The relatively mild tremor in the U.S. economy in 1951 cost Britain 300 million pounds in sales. It foreshadowed what will happen to the European economies when the U.S. arms boom really begins to sag.

Though overripe and decomposing, West European monopoly capitalism has raised its overall output since the end of the war. But, significantly, it did not get into full swing until the latter half of 1950, when it stepped up its armament production.

The frenzied armament programme, however, pushed the battered Western European capitalist regimes closer to bankruptcy. Each of the West European countries, to pay for its armament expenditures, not only must push exports

of civilian goods, but also cut its own consumption of these goods and reduce imports. As a result, exports have slumped heavily. At the close of 1951, France, for example, showed a trade deficit of 339 billion francs, as compared with a deficit of 102 billion in 1950. In 1953 this deficit was growing at a still more alarming rate.

Almost every month during 1952 and 1953 a different Washington satellite was having a relapse. In January 1952 the French cotton industry fell into a severe slump. Italy and Denmark gasped for dollars. In March, Manchester and Lancashire were threatened with paralysis. Britain closed its financial year on March 30, 1953, with a budget deficit of \$1.2 billion.

Plagued with deficits, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, as well as other sterling bloc countries, announced 50% cuts in their imports from Britain. Each sought to export her financial woes to the other.

"Dutch competition is causing unemployment in Belgium," complained Brussels. "British and French import cuts," wrote the *Manchester Guardian*, "caused unemployment in the Netherlands and Denmark." "It is a chain reaction," declared *Le Monde*, "initiated by Britain." In May 1953 the Banque de France refused to extend the Government a \$300 million credit. "The NATO may bust for purely economic reasons. The Anglo-American alliance may crack. Money, more money, only more money can solve it," State Department officials warned congressmen reluctant to spend more money on Europe.

The storm signals of the coming breakdown were plain enough. On January 28, 1953, the London government reported that Britain's national production as a whole was running 10% below the previous year. On April 13, 1953, the Organization for European Cooperation, (a NATO branch) reported that "the economic outlook for Western Europe and much of the free world is unsatisfactory and even dangerous. Production has remained static and in some areas has been declining and will go lower." The comprehensive survey of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, issued on March 5, 1953, declared: "The

deterioration of the West European economy has been progressive. The failure of Western Europe to develop alternative sources for dollar supplies of food and raw materials, the unwillingness of the U.S. to offer Europe larger and steadier markets for manufactured goods.... have all contributed to worsening Western Europe's capacity to maintain its standard of living and employment of its people.... The Mediterranean countries are getting relatively and absolutely poorer all the time."

The most significant thing about this stagnation and decline is that it occurred despite tremendous military expenditures, which in former times created temporary booms.

"Trade—not aid!" clamoured the West European capitalist leaders. "If the U.S. were prepared to invest in under-developed countries," pleaded Robert Boothby, the British Conservative M.P., "if, too, they were prepared to modify their tariff policy, if they were prepared to release their gold buried in Fort Knox.... but they are not." Harold Wilson, former president of the London Board of Trade, wrote: "Britain is compelled to export more to cover import needs," but "we have lost the greater part of our overseas markets and these, once lost, are not easily regained, especially when they are lost to Americans." "Washington," reported the *New York Times* on April 17, 1953, "is not prepared to go along with Western Europe's programme for solvency through 'trade not aid' The Eisenhower Administration could not prevail on Congress to take the necessary steps such as tariff reductions." Indeed, how could U.S. manufacturers permit Congress to facilitate the sale of foreign goods inside the U.S.A.?

In the meantime, Washington, haunted by rising crisis symptoms at home, barred France and the other European countries from cutting their arms and other imports from the United States. Sorely pressed, the London junior partners sought to stretch the NATO bomb-and-gun production schedule over a longer period. Washington first opposed this slowdown in arms production and threatened to withdraw dollar aid. The same sort of ultimatum was

issued to tottering France and Italy. Walter Lippmann argued that for the Western nations "to be unarmed and bankrupt would be more tragic than to be bankrupt but armed."

The United States did get rid of some of its surpluses and, for the time being, prospered at the expense of all the others. But the stricter U.S. control becomes over the capitalist world market, the more it tends to strangle world capitalism as a whole. Indeed, the U.S. trusts are in the position of King Midas, who turned everything he touched into gold—but almost died of starvation.

After six years of American aid, the economies of the Marshallized countries are still spinning toward a debacle. After each armament appropriation, their currencies and fiscal balances become still more inflated. "The national states of Western Europe are no longer viable institutions in their fiscal matters," wrote Michael Hoffman. "Rearmament financing through taxes inhibits the creation of capital. No government is quite yet ready to admit that the king really has not got on any clothes, but financial people know that this is true." But what the "financial people" refuse to admit is that the king is not only naked, but is on the way out!

Chapter IV

Part Two

Colonialism : The Last Mile

THE SINEWS of world imperialism are in the mines, fields and forests of Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America—in the untold billions of hours of forced labour, in the immense quantities of oil, rubber, gold, silver, tin, lead and other raw materials which it extracts from the colonial and dependent countries. None of the Anglo-American, French, Belgian or Dutch monopolists could hold out for long without this vampire's nourishment. Indeed, the entire structure and functioning of monopoly capitalism rests upon this exploitation.

Slave labour formed the basis of primitive capitalist accumulation. It attended the birth of capitalism. "The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement and murder, floated back to the mother country and were there turned into capital." (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I.) Between 1666 and 1766 the British alone imported into various colonies some three million slaves. Between 1783 and 1793, 921 ships were employed in conveying slaves. The net return in those 11 years amounted to £ 12,294,116. Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the colonies in 1775, declared: "We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

Now almost three centuries later, servitude and debasement of millions in the colonial and dependent countries are

still pillars of the so-called Western way of life. The toil of sharecroppers and peons, of semi-slave labourers in African mines, of Mexican migratory workers in the United States, are all part of this system; even chattel slavery itself is spreading, according to a recent report of the United Nations.* It is enough to examine the words of various monopoly spokesmen to realize that their entire foreign policy is hinged upon "whether we shall be able to win and hold the peoples in the backward countries."

Capitalism's Windpipes

The reason lies in the nature of capitalist production. The drive for markets and colonies goes hand in hand with the growing accumulation of capital and the mounting need for profits. John Stuart Mill noted: Export of capital is "one of the principal causes by which the decline of profits

* Jacques Alain, the French explorer, reported to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, of men, women and children in British and French colonies being rounded up at gunpoint, handcuffed together in groups of four and marched off. He stated that, in 1952, "at least 5,000 Africans are shipped across the Red Sea each month to the slave markets of Saudi Arabia and Yemen." (Kumar Goshal in *National Guardian*, March 23, 1953.)

After seven years of U.S. occupation and "democratization" of Japan the *U.S. News and World Report* presented, on November 27, 1953, the following picture of that country: "A teen-age Japanese girl fresh from the countryside can be bought cheaper than a purebred pet in Japan's flourishing slave trade. . . . more than half of the girls sold by the child brokers end up in prostitution. Others work in shops and factories. . . . Young textile workers get from \$2.50 to \$5.00 per month. At the end of their term, which may run up to eleven years, the girls are deeper in debt than when they started because they are forced to borrow money at high interest rates to provide themselves with food, clothes and medical care. . . . Most of the boys sold in slavery end up in mines. The smaller mines are dependent on teen-age labour. In the mills some girls work eleven hours a day, 28 days a month and are paid 75 cents per month. Some contracts provide no wages—only food and clothing. . . ."

in England has has been arrested." Export of capital temporarily keeps the swollen and competing domestic capitals from strangling one another. Through foreign investments, monopoly partly overcomes the limits of the internal market and slakes its unquenchable thirst for maximum profits.

Export of capital thus enables a handful of American monopolists to earn a rate of profit far beyond that earned on their domestic investments. In 1948 Standard Oil, for example, earned 11%, and General Motors, 25% on their capital investments in the U.S.A., but 33% and 80% respectively on their capital invested in Latin America. Investments in Africa, the Middle East and Southcast Asia yielded them even higher rates—a 200 or 300 per cent annual rate of profit not being uncommon. This difference, of course is due to the more intensive exploitation of foreign, and especially colonial workers. An American mine worker in 1940, on the average, mined 27 metric tons of copper; a Chilean, 23 tons. But their respective annual wages were \$1,400 and \$275. In 1950, Standard Oil of New Jersey reported a net profit of \$11,512 on each of its Venezuelan oil workers, most of whom earned a bare subsistence. For each dollar in wages the corporation paid to workers in the U.S.A. in 1950, they paid workers in Canada 65 cents; West Germany, 21 cents; Italy 19 cents; the Netherlands, 16 cents, and Austria, 13 cents.

Between 1948 and 1950, the British trusts obtained more profits (\$650 million) from the exploitation of Malayan labour alone, than from all the exports from their own country. In 1951 seven of the biggest British monopolies (Unilevers, Anglo Iranian, Royal Dutch Shell, Imperial Tobacco, P & O, Dunlop Rubber, Tate & Lyle) made a gross profit of 468.4 million pounds or 42% on the total capital assets of 1,115 million pounds in that year: 817 gold, tin, copper, oil, rubber and tea companies earned 47% on their capital investments. In some African mines, employers get a profit 20 times the sum they pay in wages! In 1937 the Northern Rhodesia copper mine owners netted over \$28 million in profits, while the 17,000 workers employed in that

year received a total of \$1,700,000, or a \$68 yearly wage per worker.

Colonial and dependent countries also provide an outlet for surplus manufactured goods. Economic and political control enables the monopolies to collect huge tributes by merely raising the price of the articles they sell and lowering the price of those they buy from the dependent countries. "The favoured country recovers more labour in exchange for less labour." (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III.) Thus, in 1929 a Brazilian could buy a Ford automobile with the equivalent of 20 bags of coffee; in 1949 its cost equivalent was 200 bags. Similar relations hold true for many other articles. As a result, Brazil, like most other dependent countries, is bankrupt. All the dependent countries suffer from trade deficits. In terms of dollars, Iran in 1949 imported five times more from the U.S.A. than it exported to it; Egypt, four times more; Iraq, three times more.

As a result colonial and dependent countries are loaded with heavy debts and interest payments to New York and London banks, to whom most of their assets and resources are mortgaged. Seventy-three per cent of the billion-dollar deficit incurred in 1952 by the Latin American countries to the United States, or \$731 million, represents interest and dividends on capital invested by U.S. companies.

This dependence is perpetuated by preventing the development of local heavy industry, or even large-scale consumers' goods industries.

In 1948 the tribute exacted by U.S. finance capital from the colonial and dependent countries amounted to \$7.5 billion. This not only raised the total amount of profit, but also the *average rate of profit on total capital invested*. Thus it comes about that the trusts regard the 5% or 10% of their production which they export as more vital for them than the 90% that they sell on the domestic market. Through this 10% they realize super-profits on the *total volume of sales*.

Colonial and dependent countries are therefore monopoly capitalism's windpipes—narrow them, and it chokes or goes

into fascism and war convulsions. They are also the exhaust valves through which monopoly rids itself of its noxious accumulations.

All this explains the constant and bitter struggles among the imperialists for each other's markets and colonies.

Generally speaking, the *intensity* of any imperialist country's war drive is related to the *size* of its capital and goods surpluses and the areas and populations which it can exploit. Today as never before, the American monopolies are bursting with surpluses that are totally disproportionate to the *lebensraum* at their disposal. They have penetrated but have not as yet succeeded in taking over the huge Anglo-French domains. The fact is that Wall Street must encroach upon the domains of all capitalist countries. This makes further war conflicts between *them* inevitable.

And all this explains why ten of the top U.S. corporations, which account for 75% of all the direct U.S. capital exports, seek to turn the nation into a tool for world domination.

Instead of the "white man's burden" and lowly missionaries preaching the gospel—the shabby masks used by the British colonial enslavers—the American monopolists now blare forth slogans about freedom, Christian civilization, and the defence against communism. Addressing the South American Foreign Ministers Conference in Washington, Dean Acheson pontificated: "Freedom is the climate in which men can work to fulfil all the affirmative aspirations and values of their lives. . . . Where there is freedom, we can govern ourselves the way we want. . . . The partnership of the free world is a spiritual confederation."

The Latin American "Free" World

Let us now take a brief excursion into this free world and examine the nature of its "spirituality." We shall start with some of the 21 Latin American countries, covering an area of 7.5 million square miles and inhabited by over 170 million people.

Wall Street often refers to Central and South America as its backyard. No wonder. Some 25% of all the major items produced on this fabulously rich continent and its neighbouring islands—Brazilian coffee, minerals and iron ore; Cuba's sugar; Chilean and Bolivian lead, tin and copper; Peruvian wool; Venezuelan and Columbian oil and coal; the rich fruit crops of Haiti, Honduras, Guatemala—is funnelled into the treasuries of a handful of Wall Street trusts. They own or control much of Latin America's local industry, trade, banking, shipping, real estate, and insurance. All told, over \$2.5 billion out of \$7.5 billion of foreign booty extracted today by American big business come from the Latin American countries.

What do the trusts bestow upon these countries in return? In each of the U.S.-dominated Latin American countries the social picture is more or less the same—destitution, disease, illiteracy, mass starvation. For the tourist in Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Mexico City or Caracas, the gigantic swamps of Latin American misery are partly hidden by villas, gardens, sumptuous government buildings, luxurious restaurants, and clubs for millionaires. However, one does not have to go far to discover the inferno of human suffering and degradation covering the Latin American countryside.

Of Brazil's 5,000 towns and villages, only 306 have running water; only 270 have sanitary facilities. Over 350,000 Brazilian children die annually in their first year of life; 500 out of every 1,000, before reaching 14. Twenty-four million adults are illiterate. Seventy-four per cent of Brazil's workers earn less than \$10 a week. With prices almost as high as in the U.S., workers' families are half starved. Peasants are still worse off. In 1952 and 1953, disease and famine stalked the northern parts of the country claiming thousands of victims.

In Puerto Rico, a Chase National Bank colony (annexed by the United States in 1898), 500,000 out of 2.2 million inhabitants in 1950 were homeless, and 300,000 unemployed. According to a U.N. report, 86% of the population earned

less than 80 cents a day. Wages on the U.S. sugar plantations averaged five dollars a week; and in manufacturing, four dollars. The majority of the people live in miserable shacks, in clumps of one-room hovels made of slate or corrugated iron, without light or sanitary facilities. Towns and villages are infested with tuberculosis, malaria, bilharzia and other poverty-bred diseases. Numerous uprisings by the Puerto Rican people have been drowned in blood. To escape this sub-human existence on the island, tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans flock to hunt for work in the United States. Crowded six or eight to a room, mostly in the New York slum areas, the "fortunate" ones among them find employment in menial, low-paid jobs.

Similar conditions prevail in Nicaragua (occupied by U.S. Marines in 1916 and 1927), and in Cuba (wrested from Spain in 1898), Haiti, Venezuela, Honduras, Colombia and Guatemala. American capital drove the peasantry in these countries off the land. Through a system of usurious loans and mortgage foreclosures, it converted them into propertyless agricultural workers. In Cuba nearly 90% of the cultivable lands are owned or held under long lease by American interests. According to Josué de Castro, a Cuban factory worker's family of five subsists on a daily energy total sufficient for only one person! In Guatemala, the United Fruit Company claims title to over three million acres of land. The Indian people, who make up 75% of the population, "have been and still are considered chattels," reported C. H. Calhoun in the *New York Times*. "Land is bought, not for development, but to acquire the labour of the Indians who live on it. Indians work for as little as 20 cents a day."

The prevailing living conditions of the Venezuelan people can be judged by the fact that over 100,000 children, out of a total population of nearly four million (according to official estimates of the Caracas government) are homeless. U.S., British and Dutch oil companies in 1950 netted a clear profit of more than \$500 million from their Venezuelan

operations.* Harvey O'Connor remarked, "When the oil runs out the nation will be like an old tailor's chest, filled with useless spangles. It was impoverished, disease-ridden and illiterate 25 years ago, and still is."

The Anaconda and Kennecott corporations control 95% of Chile's copper output. Their average profit per worker in 1950 was \$5,879. Wages are 13 cents an hour. Wall Street corporations also own 68% of Chile's utilities, 60% of its nitrate output and shipping, virtually all of its steel and smelting industry.** In 1951 the profits extracted from Chile by the U.S. trusts amounted to over 40 billion pesos, or a sum equal to the country's total budget. Over half of the children in Chile die before reaching the age of nine. The tuberculosis rate is seven times that of the U.S. According to Pablo Neruda, Chile's great poet and people's leader, the living conditions of the workers in the Morgan-Rockefeller and Guggenheim Chuquicamata copper and nitrate mines "can only be compared with those that prevailed in the Nazi concentration camps."

In a report to the *New York Times* on his visit to the U.S. Smelting and Anaconda companies' tin and lead mines in neighbouring Bolivia (dominated by Rockefeller and Rothschild,) Foster Hailey gives this picture of conditions:

"The ore-breaking rock in the mines is so hot that most of it numbs the hand; the temperature is 125 degrees, the humidity 95 per cent, and rock dust fills the air and the lungs ... For eight hours a day or longer, six days a week, 3,000 to 4,000 men, women and children ranging in age from 10 to 35, labour at cutting the ore. ... For this they receive wages that reach a peak for men of 135 bolivianos (62 cents)

* In 1951, Standard Oil employed 14,500 workers in Venezuela and netted \$202,278,000 in profit, or \$13,950 per worker. (*Moody's Industrials*, 1952.)

** The Braden Copper Company, a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Corporation is directed by Spruille Braden, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Latin American Affairs. The Dupont Company owns the South American Explosive Company in Chile. The iron ore deposits in Northern Chile are owned by the Bethlehem Steel Company.

a day. ... Their homes of unmortared stone are unheated. The nights are below freezing, their meals are scanty. ... All food is imported. ... Sixty per cent of the workers have tuberculosis. ... Half of the babies born die in the first year and those who live have a life expectancy of 35 years' There are no doctors; any illness or bad injury means death. Labour contractors get so much per head for recruiting workers. ... And" adds the *Times* reporter, "Polacayo is not the worst mine."

Rule of "Murder Incorporated"

Wall Street's dictatorship over its Latin American domain is usually enforced by local quislings who often mask themselves as patriots and even revolutionaries. They are supplied with money and weapons to gain and hold power, and above all to break strikes. In 1928 the Colombian junta crushed a strike for the United Fruit Company by killing 1,400 workers. In 1930 a similar job was performed by the Peruvian government for the Morgan-Hearst Cerro de Pasco copper and lead company.

Today, because of rising anti-imperialist movements and the growth of a national bourgeoisie, Wall Street's problems in Latin America are becoming more complex. Although it resorts more frequently to economic pressure, outright violence through locally-hired thugs still remains its primary weapon. Recently, the government of Guatemala proceeded with its programme of agrarian reform, giving land to thousands of half-starved peasants. Washington, to protect the United Fruit Company and the Morgan-dominated Electric Bond and Share Company,^{*} answered with measures to strangle the Guatemalan economy. Under the smokescreen of anti-communism, it is now attempting to overthrow the legally elected government and instal

^{*} *Fortune* magazine reported in July 1947 that 700 out of every 1,000 Bolivians die in infancy.

a fascist puppet regime. On April 18, 1953 *Business Week* recommended: The "Administration should use the Big Stick—economic, even military sanctions to persuade a country like Guatemala to root out communism."

"U.S. capital," wrote the *New York Times* in February 1953, "refrained from further investments in Cuba because of the arbitrary demands of organised labour." A few weeks later it reported, "U.S. business men are more optimistic about Cuba." On March 10, 1953 a coup was staged and Fulgencio Batista, a National City Bank agent took over. His junta suspended constitutional guarantees, dissolved all political parties, executed hundreds of workers and arrested thousands. The Batista regime, the *Times* boasted, "ended all strikes and demands by labour." The knights of freedom once more secured their 30% rate of profit on their \$700 million Cuban investments.

Similar events took place in British Guiana which possesses the largest bauxite mines in the world. Tens of thousands of Guianese toil for pitiful wages for the Mellon Aluminum Corporation which "owns" these mines. In October, 1953, the People's Progressive Party headed by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, won 18 of the 24 legislative seats and was about to pass a bill requiring employers to recognize the bauxite workers' union. London manufactured a "Communist coup" smokescreen, swept aside the legally elected government, annulled the constitution and instituted a reign of terror.

In most South and Central American republics, the leaders frequently sponsored by the U.S. monopolies are ordinary assassins. In Cuba they killed Jesus Menendez, leader of the sugar workers' union; Fernandez Roig, secretary of the tobacco workers' union; Martinez Noguez of the railway workers; Iglesias of the dockers' union. In 1950 alone, 90 trade unionists and progressives were murdered in Chile, Brazil, Peru and Colombia. An oil workers' strike in Venezuela was crushed in April 1951 by jailing 4,000 workers and dissolving all unions. In Bolivia, police armed

by Wall Street broke the copper miners' strike of May 1951 by killing 100 workers and wounding 800.

Washington's ruling clique in Colombia is headed by Laurecano Gomez, friend of Franco, and acting president, Roberto Urdaneta, legal advisor to the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the United Fruit Company. These firms are the real masters of Colombia. In the past four years no less than 36,000 men, women and children have been murdered in Colombia.

The *New York Times* correspondent, Sidney Gruson, reported: "The fighting in Colombia in the last five years adds up to a civil war of heavy casualties and unbelievable cruelties. . . . There is no end in sight. About 100 miles south of Bogota a group of five villages were known to have supported the Liberals' political cause. . . . The army and the police attacked the villages, killing many of the women and children as well as the men. Such incidents can be multiplied a hundred times. . . . Photographs of what happens in these police and army attacks show horrible atrocities, and women and children among the dead and mutilated." Among the murdered were the Communist leader, Julio Rincon, and Aurelio Rodriguez, oil workers' leader.

In Venezuela, according to Valmore Rodriguez, former president of the Venezuelan Senate, thousands of political prisoners have died from physical torture and epidemics in the Guasima concentration camp. On February 13, 1951, the International League for the Rights of Man submitted a protest to Trygve Lie, former Secretary General of the United Nations, charging that at least 30,000 persons had been tortured, imprisoned or assassinated in six Latin American countries as political opponents of the present regimes. "In some instances," the report said, "the governments concerned have not denied practising torture. The methods alleged included beating, application of bands of iron to the head, electric needles, laying of prisoners on ice beds, removing the nails from the hands and feet with pincers." Venezuela, Argentina, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Co-

lombia, and Paraguay were the countries cited in the report.

Turning now to other sections of Wall Street's "back-yard," we find that the maximum wage scale for natives of the U.S. Pacific trust territories (the Marshalls, Marianas, and Caroline Islands) in April 1947 was as follows: for apprentices under 16 years of age, 3 to 5 cents an hour, for domestic workers, 4 to 6 cents an hour; for common labourers, 5 to 7.5 cents an hour; for semi-skilled workers, 7.5 to 9 cents an hour

After 48 years of bitter struggle, and after the MacArthur blood bath of 1945 failed to kill the national movement, the Filipino people in 1946 finally gained their "independence"—Wall Street style. According to the 1951 census report of the U.N. Economic Commission, 75% of all capital investments, 80% of the exports, 90% of Philippine imports, and all its banks are controlled by U.S. trusts. (General MacArthur, who referred to the Philippines as his "ward," owns huge plantations, hotels, breweries, and gold and chromite mines.)

In this land where the U.S. trusts have ruled for over half a century, less than four per cent of the population is employed in manufacturing. Yet the Philippines possess all the natural resources—iron, coal, water power, non-ferrous metals and fertile land—to develop thriving big industries. In 1939 the daily average wage in the Philippines was 30 cents; today it is 96 cents. Rents and prices, however, are eight times higher than prewar. In 1948, in the Benguet gold mines in the Islands (controlled by Allen and Company of New York) wages were 12.5 cents an hour. Over 50% of the people are illiterate. Only about 25% of the arable land is cultivated, most of it in the hands of feudal landlords and the Catholic Church. Over 50% of the Philippine farmers are shore-croppers. On the sugar plantations workers still toil under conditions of semi-slavery. Mass poverty and malnutrition prevail throughout the Islands.

Twenty-three U.S. army, marine and air bases ring the Islands to "protect" this Wall Street colony. In 1951, after five years of futile campaigns to suppress the Philippine

Hukbalahap, the national liberation army led by Luis Taruc, Washington decided on new tactics. "In Central Luzon," reported the *New York Times* on March 26, 1951, "Airforce C47 transport planes dropped hundreds of five-gallon cans of kerosene and other petroleum products into the jungle-covered island. Then ground troops fired phosphorus rockets into the area, igniting the fuel."

Peonage and Profits

Most of Mexico's mines and metal factories, as well as its finances, are under Wall Street control. The Anderson and Clayton trust owns much of Mexico's cotton, hemp, sugar crops, textiles, and large sections of the land itself. Some 11 million acres of land in Mexico belong to U.S. companies, which also own one-third of the state of Coahuila. But Mexico also forms a reservoir of cheap labour power for the U.S. trusts. At the peak of the crop season, Mexican farm workers constitute more than 10% of the total number of people employed in U.S. agriculture.

In the past, many of these workers swam the Rio Grande to get into the United States. Their American bosses refer to these Mexican workers as "wetbacks." Today they no longer have to steal their way across. In a report to the *New York Times* Gladwin Hill describes how tens of thousands of "ragged and hungry Mexican job seekers are herded together, lined up by the soldiers. . . . divided into groups of 50 and called up for inspection. . . . An American growers' representative ascertains their strength and fitness as farmhands. . . . The chosen ones pass through an assembly line where they are photographed and fingerprinted. When they arrive in the U.S.," Hill continues, "farmers acknowledge . . . that they pay their field hands as low as 15 cents an hour. But gross wages are often subject to deductions for meals and special assessments. . . . An inexperienced cotton picker, after three days of work, was told that he had just

earned the food he had eaten. It is not extraordinary for 'wetbacks' to report having worked for weeks, only to be told that there was no cash due them. . . . Their lodging is seldom better than an irrigation ditch or a hut improvised from junk. . . . Whole families work 12 hours a day, seven days a week just for their meals." In 1952, according to Hill, 1,500,000 Mexican workers laboured on American farms and ranches.

With labour costing them practically nothing and food prices mounting, the food monopolies pocketed enormous profits. An executive of the California Beet Growers' Association told the President's Commission on Migratory Labour, "We have gone through the whole gamut. We have used Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Filipinos, Mexicans, 'wetbacks,' if you please, Indians, Negroes, Bahamans and what have you. We have always been willing to take any kind of labour we could get when we needed them."

On November 7, 1952, under the auspices of the Negro Baptist Ministers' Alliance of Miami, Florida, Stetson Kennedy testified before the U.N. Forced Labour Committee that 5,388,000 persons in the United States, including Negro workers, are working under conditions of involuntary servitude.

Like the colonial peoples, the Negro people in the United States are held in conditions of semi-enslavement because they constitute a source of cheap labour power for the various agricultural and raw materials monopolies. Most back-breaking labour in the Jim Crow South is performed by Negro workers. Their earnings are often one-third to one-half those of white workers. U.S. Census figures for North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, show that 85,625 Negroes were full land-owners, while 580,330 were sharecroppers and farm labourers, paid and unpaid. The area occupied by Negro farmers declined by three million acres between 1945 and 1950. Altogether, since 1920, Negroes have been driven off nine million acres of land, or one-third of the land they occupied in these six states at that time. Yet the total farm area in

these six states increased by eight million acres between 1945 and 1950.

Although only 10% of the population, Negroes are 56% of the domestic servants and 60% of the sharecroppers, the most exploited of the agrarian workers. Not only are most Negro youth barred by a quota system from practically all American universities; millions do not obtain even an elementary school education. Negroes are usually employed in the most dangerous industries, in iron foundries and fertiliser factories, for example. In the South they perform most of the labour for the cotton, tobacco, lumber and food trusts. Seventy per cent of all Negro homes in the South have neither electricity nor running water.

Here and there, for propaganda purposes, the ruling class grants a few Negroes some better-paid jobs. But according to *The Negro Handbook*, not one per cent of the Negroes are admitted to professions requiring skilled training, while 50% of the employers in industry and many government departments deny work to Negroes altogether. (Negroes form about 15% of New York City's population.)

Pressed into overcrowded slum ghettos, without opportunities for economic advancement, the average Negro must accept any kind of job to survive, and at a considerably lower wage rate than white workers. In a petition to the U.N., the National Negro Congress on June 6, 1946 stated that "as of 1940 two-thirds of the Negro families earned less than \$750 a year."

In 1947 the average income of Negro families in the U.S. was \$1,043, as compared with the average income of \$3,062 for white families. In 1950 the average white worker's earnings were \$2,481; those of the Negro worker, \$1,295. Non-white women workers made only about 40% as much as white women workers and only about 28% as much as white male workers in 1949.

According to the economist Victor Perlo, American capitalists reaped at least four billion dollars in extra profit from the labour of the Negro people in 1948 "over and above the average profits of the monopolies from the exploitation

of a corresponding number of white workers." "This calculation," says Perlo, "is restricted to commodity producers. It leaves out of account. . . . the hundreds of thousands of exploited Negro women. . . . (who) toil as domestic servants."

The Indians were the first people on this continent to bear the lash of colonial oppression. Four hundred years of white man's rule have brought them only suffering and destitution. Their numbers decimated, their rich lands taken away, denied political rights, they are third-class citizens in the country of their ancestors.

The American Indians, wards of the government for 127 years, "are not likely to be emancipated fully until the year 2,000." "That," wrote Anthony Leviero, of the *New York Times*, "is the prospect held out by the Interior Department. . . . Lip service has been given to the ultimate goal of emancipation to Indians for many years by successive national administrations and by members of Congress. Yet, today the goal seems as far away as ever. . . . There appears to be no real trend of policy, even to head for the goal."



Rags and Riches in the Middle East

The dependence of the West European imperialists on U.S. guns and dollars, coupled with their failure to crush the people's liberation and independence movements, has enabled the U.S. trusts to gain a dominant position in the British, French, Dutch and Belgian colonies. Lest they be mistaken for old hangmen in new garb, the new masters loudly proclaim their opposition to the old ways of imperialist rule. Some former colonies, such as Burma, the Philippines, Iraq, Indonesia, Pakistan, Palestine and Transjordan, were granted the right to their own national flag, their own postal system, U.N. representation, and other outward trappings of sovereignty. All signs betraying the control and ownership of the country's industries, finances and raw materials by foreign trusts were quickly overlaid

with local national symbols. To blind the people to the ruse, Washington and London fomented local conflicts, such those between India and Pakistan, Israel and the Arab countries. Native chiefs were "bought up" to maintain the parody of national independence, in line with the familiar practice in Cuba or Venezuela.

The change from outright colonial enslavement to the less visible semi-colonial form required outlays of billions for air and military bases (under the pretext of Soviet aggression) and bribery of the local feudalists and bourgeoisie (under the guise of Point 4). But as in the case of its Latin American colonies, Wall Street also had to resort to violence. Local puppets in Syria, Iran, Transjordan, Pakistan, etc., who out of habit mistook Bank of England notes for Wall Street coin, were either deposed or assassinated.

In March 1950, for example, Washington offered Ali Razmara, then premier of Iran, a \$250 million loan. According to the London *Times*, Razmara told Grady, then U.S. Ambassador to Iran, that he did not want U.S. aid. Moreover, he also banned the relay in Teheran of the Voice of America's anti-Soviet broadcasts. A few weeks later his body was found riddled with bullets. Soon, too, Lebanese, Syrian, Transjordan and Pakistan rulers who did not toe the line were murdered. "Abdullah is the fourth pro-British leader to be assassinated in recent months," boasted Morgan's *Newsweek* in July 1951, while charting the struggle between British and American trusts for the Middle East. On May 15, 1953, when Dulles sat down to negotiate with General Naguib, dictator of Egypt, the *New York Times* reported, "He opened the proceedings by placing a 32-caliber automatic pistol on the table, 'a present from your friend, Dwight D. Eisenhower.'"

The big five of the U.S. oil industry—Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony Vacuum, Gulf Oil, the Texas Co., Standard Oil of California—netted a billion dollars in profits from their 1952 oil plunder in the Middle Eastern countries. U.S. Senator Thomas C. Hennings (Dem.-Missouri) alleged

that crude oil production cost is 10 cents per barrel in the Middle East, as against two dollars per barrel in the U.S. Moreover, that the Anglo-American oil cartel made an estimated \$12 billion net profit after taxes in the past six years on their foreign business, and that profits are now running at an annual level of three billion dollars.

Middle East poverty is in stark contrast to the tremendous wealth it produces. Oil production in the Middle East increased six and a half times between 1938 and 1952. The Middle East produces more than half of all oil moving in international trade.

Local U.S.-supported rulers are tossed a few crumbs. But the picture among the 40 million Arabs of this region, is one of grim poverty and starvation. Indeed, living conditions of the Middle Eastern peoples have reached extremes of misery since the U.S. trusts have come in for their share of the British loot of this region. According to a U.N. report of September 1951, 60% of the Arab children die before their fifth birthday. Over 75% of the population suffers from tuberculosis, trachoma, bilharzia, dysentery and pellagra. For 16 hours of labour, children and women workers in Iran get wages equivalent to two pounds of bread. In the villages, wages average one dollar a week. The known income of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951—\$400 million—was ten times the income of all Iranian oil workers in that year.

In Syria, Turkey and Egypt, the 1951 per capita income stood at two dollars a week; in Iraq and Iran, at one dollar; and in Saudi Arabia, at 75 cents a week. But this "per capita" average was reached by including the high income of the local gentry bought up by the imperialists. The average per capita income in the Middle East was closer to 50 cents a week.

Such are the living conditions of the people inhabiting a fabulously rich area, containing huge chemical, mineral and ore deposits, rivers for irrigation and electric power, a potentially fertile soil and half of the world's known oil resources. The relation between imperialism and mass

starvation was well illustrated by a recent *New York Times* report headlined: "Egypt Eats More, Perilling Economy." It went on, "Under the economic system prevailing in Egypt, and with their heavy over-population, the country cannot afford to have the masses eat more than a bare minimum."

The imperialists often call Southeast Asia their "treasure house." Its supplies of rubber, tin, oil and other raw materials are truly enormous. In the first five months of 1951, Malaya alone earned \$202,857,400 for the British rubber trusts. But "except perhaps for the 10,000 whites in the city of Singapore," reported Michael James from Malaya, "wage earners are literally starving in the colony. Workers have recently been admitted to the public hospitals suffering from advanced malnutrition. . . . Wages are 83 cents a day. . . . Social conditions here are the worst I have ever seen in the British empire." He then quoted British officials as saying that "the trouble is due to a surplus of money in circulation."!

Now, more than ever, the monopolists are systematically preventing the growth of the backward industries of this region. Even food, which Southeast Asia used to export, is now being imported. The following picture of the Sind province in Pakistan is typical of the rest of Southeast Asia. In 1951, out of 1,300,000 workers, 480,000 were unemployed. The vast majority of the workers live in *bastis*—hovels, dens of muck and disease. Thousands perish every year from malaria, cholera and tuberculosis. According to the *Pakistan Times*, "the average family prefers the death of one or two of its children rather than pay the doctor and suffer starvation afterwards." With one doctor for every 25,000 inhabitants, the U.S.-supported Pakistan government allotted less than one per cent of its budget for health and more than 50% for armaments to protect itself from "aggression" from its neighbour, Soviet Tadzhikistan.

Semi-capitalist and semi-feudal India is nominally independent, but many of the factories and workshops, the mines and plantations, the shipping and banking are wholly or partly foreign-owned. Anglo-American trusts own or

control from 70% to 90% of India's oil, rubber, jute, shellac, ore mining, coal and mica enterprises. As elsewhere, the U.S. monopolies are displacing the British. Washington permitted substantial export of equipment only for the oil refineries of U.S. oil companies and the extraction of monazite sands for atomic bomb production. India's hoped-for industrial development has gotten nowhere. The United States also sets the price of the raw materials India exports and the manufactured materials it imports.

The peasants, forming the vast majority of the Indian population, are still subjected to a land tenure system set up by the British East Indian Company 150 years ago. Landless labourers comprise more than a third of the rural population. Peasant landholdings in Behar and Bengal seldom exceed more than half an acre. Although Indian soil is highly fertile, the many years of imperialist and feudal exploitation and industrial backwardness doom most of the Indian people to chronic famine, floods, epidemics and mass poverty. According to de Castro, "The average life-span of the Indian is 26 years. Forty per cent of all the children die before reaching the age of five."

In the 1950-51 famine, some 100 million adults and children in India "subsisted" on less than 800 calories a day. "No one even bothers any more or pays attention" to the countless corpses littering the roads of India, reported the London *Economist* in June 1951. "Whole villages looked as if they had just come out of Belsen (former Nazi death camp) . . . : The old are withered, parched, the children are ricket-stricken, pot-bellied and hungry eyed. People eat every other day when they can get a sweet potato. In the Purnea district, things are worse. The people eat cooked jute leaves. They are not as thin as in Madhubini, but they die of starvation. They suffer from diarrhoea, various pains and weaknesses. Smallpox is raging in severe and often fatal form." The *Economist* added that the famine would cause an estimated five million deaths and that this would be "political dynamite for the West." It hoped that "a little good sense would solve the problem."

"Blessed Freedom" in Africa

Africa is still the stronghold of unbridled imperialist slavery. Until about 1920, the exploitation of this enormously rich continent was carried on mostly by the West European imperialists. Since then, however, U.S. trusts have gained ascendancy. Rockefeller and Morgan interests have merged with various British, French and Belgian trusts in mining and other enterprises. The Morgan interests occupy a dominant position in South African gold, copper, diamond and uranium mines. U.S. Steel is now investing \$100 million to exploit a huge manganese deposit in French Equatorial Africa. Guggenheim, Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Standard Oil, Union Carbide, Firestone, Kennecott Copper, International Nickel and other Wall Street trusts also operate in various parts of Africa.*

Investments in Africa quickly pay off, many times over. Twenty dollars per ton of ore is the net profit reaped by the Newmont Mining Corporation, a Morgan company with main offices at 14 Wall Street. Wages are 50 cents a day at its Tsumeb non-ferrous metals mine in Southwest Africa. Newmont's directors include Fred Searls, Jr., Gov. James F. Byrnes, and Lucius D. Clay, all recent holders of top government jobs. O'Okiep paid a 90% dividend in 1947-48 and a 142% dividend in 1949.

Taken as a whole, Africa has one doctor for each 200,000 inhabitants, one school for each 60,000 children. The few elementary schools are run by missionaries who train the children in the spirit of meek obedience to the ruling whites. In the whole of Nigeria, with a population of nearly 30 million people, there are only six secondary schools, 96 hospital beds, and one doctor for every 133,000 people.

* In 1946 the Rockefeller banking group merged with British South African investment groups and acquired control over more than 100 South African companies. The Morgan-controlled Anglo-American Corporation took over control of more than forty South African and Rhodesian companies. (London *Financial Times*, March 22, 1952.)

In March 1948, the London government sent a mission to Nigeria (under its benevolent rule for seventy-five years) to investigate the possibility of increasing Britain's meat supply. On returning, the House of Commons Select Committee reported that the average per capita meat consumption in Nigeria was under 1½ ounces a week and that over 50% of Nigerian children die before reaching the age of six. Official British government figures show that in 1938 Nigerian mine and rubber plantation workers received a half shilling, or approximately twelve cents a day in wages. In 1948, the government Commission reported, the daily wage rose to 50 cents, but was offset by the rise in prices.

The vast Congo region, annexed by Belgium in 1908, is the fifth largest copper producer in the world. It accounts also for 60% of the world's cobalt (an important ingredient in the manufacture of high-grade steel) as well as enormous amounts of oil, tin, zinc, silver, cement, uranium, cotton and other valuable raw materials. A half dozen New York and Brussels financial groups control its entire economic life. The profits of Union Minière, a uranium and cobalt mining trust with a capital investment of three million francs, were close to two billion francs in 1949 and three billion in 1950. In the last few years the profits of the Société Générale de Belgique, Unilever, and other international trusts operating in the Congo rose by 400 to 2,000%. Virtually all the uranium and much of the cobalt go to the United States for use in war industries. New York financial groups allied with the Rockefellers now have a direct financial interest in the Congo mines.

The entire medical personnel of the Congo consists of 466 physicians, 27 druggists and 21 dentists, who are concentrated in the towns and cater exclusively to the Europeans. The ten million native population receives practically no medical care. There are no African doctors in the Congo. Over 60% of the population suffer from tuberculosis, malaria, sleeping sickness, leprosy, venereal and other diseases. Over 53% of the children die in infancy. The

population of the Belgian Congo has declined approximately 50% since the coming of the European colonizers.

North Africa is blessed with important natural resources and fertile soil, but none of this benefits its peoples. A few trusts and landlords own most of the arable land and minerals. Morocco is one of the world's foremost producers of manganese and cobalt. Fourteen French firms pocketed a net profit of 2.5 billion francs from Moroccan labour in 1951. In that country, 6,000 French settlers stole the most fertile 2.5 million acres of land cut of the 8 million under cultivation. The rest is shared by 850,000 Moroccans, half a million of whom own no land at all. Between 1948 and 1952 the area cultivated by natives in French North Africa declined by another 1.5 million acres.

Since World War II, Morocco has become the main site for U.S. air bases in North Africa. By mid-1953 half a billion dollars had been appropriated for this purpose, in addition to facilities occupied by the United States during World War II. These funds were a source of huge graft, exposed in Congressional hearings. But U.S. military and economic penetration has only increased the misery of the Moroccan people. By March 1952, real wages of Moroccan workers were 48% below 1938, and 44% below 1945. The official minimum wage rate applicable to most foreign-owned mines and military bases in March 1951 was 227 francs—or 79 cents per day! In addition, like those on the gang-ridden docks of New York, these workers had to pay kick-backs to agents of American contractors. In the Zellidja lead and zinc mines of Morocco, operated by the Newmont Mining Company, workers are paid 15 cents an hour. U.S. air bases, one doctor for every 120,000 and one policeman for every 600 Moroccans, protect this part of the "free world."

In Algeria the estates of French landlords—mostly vineyards—range from 8,000 to 14,000 acres. In 1951 every acre of vineyard brought its owners a \$500 annual profit. Millions of landless North African peasants work in the fields from dawn to dark for wages of 30 to 40 cents a day,

and even this is difficult to get. Except for handicraft shops, local industry is forced out of business.

The North African landscape is dotted with sprawling Hoovervilles, called *Bidonvilles*—hovels of straw and mud, indescribable filth, tuberculosis, all kinds of tropical diseases, ragged bands of young people and children in search of work. A few potatoes, a torn piece of cloth on their shoulders, a rickety shack or dank cement cubicle are all the average North African peasant worker possesses after a century of imperialist rule.

Northern Tanganyika is the world's major supplier of sisal fibre, used principally in the binder twine, indispensable for harvesting wheat and for cordage. One-third of Tanganyika's wage-earning population is employed on 200 immense sisal estates. "The workers," reported Albion Ross on July 5, 1953, in the *New York Times*, "are paid in cards. Each card entitles a worker to from \$2.60 to \$3.70 plus a bonus of 70 cents. This represents about a months' wages."

The entire legal apparatus in the various African domains of the imperialists is so shaped as to condemn millions to slave labour. Every African has to pay a tax, even if he has no income. The *East African Standard*, a British newspaper published in Kenya, stated frankly, "We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the natives. And it is on this basis that the supply of labour and the price of labour depends." The price of this labour is two pounds sterling a month. A 1922 Belgian law forbids all discussion of social problems and makes criticism of the existing order punishable by imprisonment. The *Journal de Tribuneau* reported that in one year the courts in the province of Léopoldville, Belgian Congo, sentenced 104,451 people to forced labour. Workers in the colony live in compounds surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police. The slightest misdemeanour is puni-

shed by flogging.* Working hours range from 12 to 16 a day. Mine workers wear a collar made of metal or rope. The physically strong receive just enough food to keep them working; the weak die. (But not without the assistance of missionaries financed by London and Washington.)

On July 30, 1953 Albion Ross reported in the *New York Times* from Southern Rhodesia: "Under the Masters and Servants Act in force here, Negro workers on farms and most unskilled Negro workers in industry are placed in a status of temporary servitude... If they leave the farm or industry, the police are obligated to hunt them down... Negro contract labour is paid a basic wage of about \$5.60 a month."

The Malan-Nazi regime in South Africa employs a whole series of special laws to press the Negro population into semi-servitude. The Suppression of Communism Act is used against all who resist fascism. The Group Areas Act forces all non-Europeans (six million out of the total eight million population) into separate ghettos, requiring their forcible removal from long-established homes. The Pass Laws require every African male to have a number of permits which restrict his freedom of movement, residence and employment. Those convicted under these laws have the alternative of serving a prison sentence or volunteering for farm work. During the first 11 months of 1950, 825,529 Africans were convicted. Rural areas are provided with jails for farm labour convicts. Agencies acting for the mines, railroads and other companies contract with the director of prisons for a daily supply of prison labour at a cost of 20 cents per day per worker.

In the huge Transvaal mining enterprises, the native workers are kept in enormous compounds surrounded by barbed wire. These are subdivided into smaller compounds holding 5,000 workers each. Thugs on elevated platforms stand guard with machine-guns. No worker can leave his

* The Belgian delegate in the U.N. Trusteeship Council voted against the abolition of corporal punishment in the trust territories.

compound without a special permit. Severe floggings are administered for the slightest infringement of compound rules, and especially for "laziness" at work. Reporting from the native reserves in South Africa, where three million Negroes are huddled in virtual concentration camps, Basil Davidson wrote in 1952: "The best that most of the people of the reserves can hope for is slow, rather than immediate starvation."

This compound system was in operation as early as 1910. The lovers of Western freedom learned the secret of turning human flesh into gold bars long before Hitler.

Gun and Torch

After World War II, the imperialists lost 30 million square miles of decisive raw material areas with a population of 600 million (in the Balkans, Eastern Europe, China, Viet Nam and North Korea). As a result, they were driven to intensify their plunder of the colonial areas still under their rule. The Labour Party plan for Western Europe published in March, 1948, declared: "A real reduction in our dependence on American supplies depends above all on developing the vast resources of the African continent." The London *Sunday Times* quoted John Foster Dulles that Africa "could make Western Europe completely independent of Eastern European resources." The need for colonial labour also became more urgent in the mining of raw materials useful for war—uranium, bauxite, iron and manganese.

To force the African people into mines and plantations, the 8.5 million natives of South Africa, for example, were restricted to less than 15% of the total land area, and in Transvaal to a bare 10%. In Kenya the British robbed the 5.5 million inhabitants of their best land, leaving them to subsist on fifty thousand square miles of arid and barren soil. The rest was turned into a restricted area of mineral and other exploitation. All this gave birth to organized

popular demands for democratic rights and for alleviating unbearable living conditions.

In May 1945 the Algerian people celebrated the end of the war in gatherings demanding land reform. But the resident French colonialists and de Gaulle, then ruler of Algeria, had their own plans. They arrested a few Algerians on a framed-up charge of assaulting white Europeans. Using this as a pretext, gangs in the service of the feudalists burned down a number of villages and slaughtered their inhabitants. A report in the *New York Times* of June 1, 1945, said, "The outbursts against French occupation were put down with the use of U.S. planes." An eyewitness stated, "Each day fifty people were executed by hurling them from a precipitous rock into a gorge near Bougie."

In May 1949, Tunisian workers in Enfidaville, employed on a nearby French estate, went on strike for a minimum wage of 50 cents a day. Together with their families, they assembled on the morning of May 28 in front of the estate office to present their demands. What followed was told by an eyewitness in the June 30, 1949 issue of *Avenir de la Tunisie*: "A motorized troop column suddenly appeared, and without warning fired with rifles and machine-guns straight into the crowd of men, women and children. Dead and wounded filled the courtyard, among them pregnant women with bullet-ridden abdomens."

Madagascar's chief asset for Paris, London and New York trusts are its coal, mica, beryllium, graphite, and uranium deposits. Eight-year old children, women with infants on their backs, work in the mines for a few cents a day. Mica dividends, the Lazard Frères-Rothschild men discovered, could be raised by eliminating the cost of feeding that part of the population not working in the mines. The Malagasy people are thus subjected to hunger and disease. (The majority of children on Madagascar die before reaching the age of ten. In 1950 there were 84,619 births and 110,201 deaths.) In the 55 years of French colonial rule, the population of Madagascar shrank from 10 million to 4.5 million.

After the second World War the French masters accelerated their genocide programme, hoping thereby to liquidate the Malagasy national movement, which had won a majority in the 1947 provincial elections, as well as in the trade union movement, then comprising 120,000 workers. In 1947 and 1948, in a series of incredibly savage massacres, the French colonial troops killed off 89,000 Malagasian people. This was the number General Garbay admitted to the commission of inquiry in January 1949. When the facts about these killings became known, the commercial press in Paris first attempted to deny them. Later they minimized them by declaring, "Only about 20,000 were killed or executed in that year."

In November 1949, the Nigerian coal miners at Enugu staged a sitdown strike. They demanded a 75 cents daily wage. The British authorities closed the ventilation shafts of the miners to suffocate them into submission. When this failed, they shot dead 22 of the strikers. The massacre united the entire Nigerian people in a broad national front. By 1952 the Anglo-American, French and Belgian trusts operating in Nigeria and the Congo held over 20,000 African trade unionists, progressives, and members of democratic organizations in concentration camps. In Morocco and Tunisia 30,000 were imprisoned for supporting the national independence movement.

Imperialist massacres, formerly sporadic, now became a permanent feature in the colonial countries. Within one week, in August 1951, for example, the press reported: "Tunisia calm again—22 killed and hundreds wounded. . . . French slay 10 natives and wound 50 on Gold Coast because they tried to cross French Togoland to present an independence petition to a U.N. mission. . . . Thailand unrest, toll 68 dead and 1,100 wounded. . . . Panama returning to normal, 14 dead, 110 injured, 1,024 jailed today. . . . Fifteen dead and hundreds wounded as Averill Harriman arrived in Teheran." "I am used to that sort of thing. It has gone on in every capital I have visited," he boasted.

Only a tiny fraction of the savage atrocities of impe-

rialism in the colonial countries becomes known. As a rule, the capitalist press maintains a systematic blackout on events in these areas. But the bald truth is that it takes the enslavement of close to a billion people and the lingering death of millions to maintain the way of life of American and West European oligarchies. Indeed, there is hardly a stone in their edifices—in the Hague, London, Paris and New York—unstained by human blood.

But the monopolists do not retain *all* the extra pounds and dollars ground out of the flesh and marrow of the colonial peoples. Some of it finds its way to the people of the exploiting nations. If the average weekly per capita income in the United States stands at about \$23, it is because the per capita income is only \$2 in Latin America, \$1 in Africa, and fifty cents in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Colonial booty serves to isolate the workers of the robber countries from the robbed. It fattens the labour aristocrats and turns them into scavengers for the trusts. It buys the conscience of many liberals (sensitive at times to human rights at home) and deadens their perception of imperialist bestiality in the colonial and dependent countries.

Point Four Confidence Game

To halt the surging tide of the people's liberation movement, Wall Street came forth with the so-called Point Four programme. In January, 1949 Truman declared "we should embark on a bold new programme for making our scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.... We should foster capital investments in areas needing development.... The old imperialism, exploitation for foreign profit, has no place in our plans." But the actual goals of Point Four soon revealed themselves to be similar to those of the now defunct Marshall Plan. Harry G. Bennett, chief of the Point Four technical programme, declared that the purpose

of Point Four is to help solve the problem of markets for U.S. surpluses. N. A. Bogdan, Director of Finance of Ford International, told the National Foreign Trade Convention, on November 9, 1949, that "the first thing that all governments must be made to understand is that such investment must be principally based upon the profit motive." John Abbink, Chairman of the State Department Technical Mission to Brazil, told the New York Export Managers Club on March 22, 1950, that the purpose of the Point Four programme "is to control the industrialization drive of the backward countries." According to *Partners in Progress*, published in March, 1951, by the Point Four Advisory Board under the direction of Nelson Rockefeller, the aim of Point Four is to obtain control of the manganese, tungsten, rubber, chromium, zinc, copper, lead, aluminium and other strategic materials located in the industrially backward countries. Over 73% of the U.S. military stockpile, it argued, came from these countries. Point Four, it frankly explained, is an indispensable adjunct to the U.S. arms programme.

"Even a moderate Point Four programme," noted the *Wall Street Journal*, "would require for the backward countries to earn more than \$2,800,000,000 to pay interest and dividends on the dollars invested." Such was the sum the Wall Street coupon clippers anticipated extracting annually from the colonial peoples, *over and above* the seven and a half billion they were already grabbing.

All this makes it obvious that Point Four is the very opposite of a programme for industrializing the underdeveloped countries. It is to serve as a means for *preventing* the development of any industries anywhere which might eventually "shock" the markets of the Wall Street monopolies. The colonial and backward areas are to be used as dumping grounds for U.S.-manufactured goods and as sources of raw materials.

But how else can one expect the monopolists to act? Since when do merchants put up money to establish competitors across the street? Wall Street is strangling various British industries and trying to de-industrialize already-

industrialized countries like France and Italy. Nothing, therefore, could be more contrary to its interests than the large-scale industrialization of backward countries.

A United Nations report titled *Inquiry into the Development of Underdeveloped Territories* concluded that the raising of the national income of these countries by 2% a year would require the investment of ten billion dollars annually. In 1949 Washington allocated \$37 million, in 1950 \$200 million, and in 1951 \$418 million for Point Four: \$237 million of the latter sum was designed as going "to Asia and the Pacific area, including Formosa." "What is called economic aid is merely a cheaper form of military assistance," wrote the London *Times* on March 3, 1952.

That the main function of Point Four is to serve as a cover for the extension of U.S. military bases was conceded by a group of Democratic Senators. On November 5, 1953, they wrote in a public letter to Harold A. Stassen that the "Point Four Programme is being smothered under the massive military aid programme with which the present administration merged it". The government of Burma discovered that Point Four aid was helping, not Burma, but Chiang Kai-shek troops in the north who were raiding the countryside. Burma denounced this at the U.N. and declared it would accept no more "aid" from the United States.*

In October 1952, Syria rebelled against Point Four because it caused skyrocketing prices and U.S. meddling in internal affairs. At the October 10, 1952 conference of the

* On August 19, 1953, after two years of Point Four intrigue, military forces trained by Norman Schwartzkopf, former New Jersey police official, overthrew the Mossadegh regime, killed 300 and wounded 1100 Iranians and installed Fazolli Zahedi as its chief. The *U.S. News & World Report* on September 11, 1953, outlined his merits: In 1918-20 he joined the White Guardists who attacked Soviet Azerbaidjan. In 1942 he served as an agent for the Nazis. When arrested by the British they found in his possession a supply of opium, silk underwear and an illustrated register of the prostitutes of Isfahan. After executing hundreds of Iranian patriots, Zahedi and his associates received from Loy Henderson, U.S. Ambassador to Teheran, a check for \$20,000,000.

Institute of Pacific Relations, Indian and Pakistani delegates "bluntly accused the U.S. of prostituting relief dollars for selfish ends." "The U.S.," they stated, "hoped to use Asian lives as cannon fodder in a war against the Soviet Union, of which they wanted no part."

To defend the "free world," Washington raised its 1951 armament budget to approximately \$80 billion. This sum is higher than the total annual income of the 1,110,000,000 people inhabiting Africa, South America and Asia (China and the Soviet Union excluded), which in that year stood at \$78 billion.* For raising agricultural production in 28 backward world areas, Washington authorized in that year the grand total of eight million dollars, the price of two bombers. From these figures, it is evident that the imperialist urge to produce the engines of death is about 10,000 times stronger than the desire to raise living standards.

As for soil erosion, flood control, and other urgent public projects needed in the colonial countries, will a financial oligarchy opposed to such projects in the U.S.A. finance them in India or Iraq? "It goes without saying," wrote Lenin, "that if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today lags far behind industry everywhere if it could raise the standard of living of the masses who are everywhere still poverty-stricken and underfed, in spite of the amazing advance in technical knowledge, there could be no talk of super-abundance of capital ... but if capitalism did these things, it would not be capitalism."

To gain the confidence of the land-hungry Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian peasants and to divert the revolutionary national liberation movements, Washington supports some land reform acts. But it is impossible to abolish landlordism and feudalism and raise land productivity without industrialization. To develop industry a backward country must retain for itself the national wealth,

* The income of South America's 107 million inhabitants in that year was \$18 billion; of Africa's 198 million, \$14 billion; and of Asia's 805 million (excluding Soviet Asia and China), \$46 billion. (*Fortnightly Review*, May 16-31, 1952.)

drained off by the foreign companies, acquire industrial equipment, create an internal market by raising wages and living standards, cut the import of foreign manufactured products by a stiff tariff—in short, eliminate imperialist domination. But all this is precisely what Washington seeks to prevent. Hence, its land reform acts are small in scale and cannot quench the revolutionary movement. “The proposed land reform schedule,” reported Albion Ross from Iran, “may be scientifically sound. But it will be about 45 years with the best of luck, before all the Shah’s villagers become independent landowners.” And, “the question naturally is whether it is fast enough to halt the revolution which seems increasingly likely,” he observed. It was estimated that, according to the U.S.-sponsored plan, it would take the 13 million landless, destitute felaheens in Egypt about 196 years to acquire the land held by the 13,000 pashas.

The Gathering Storm

Through Point Four allotments, by throwing them a few handfuls of grain, Washington tried to blind the hungry colonial peoples—the better to fleece them of their labour and natural resources. By and large, however, Washington’s bag of tricks has failed to dupe the masses in the colonial and dependent countries. Bitter experience has taught them to recognize wily subterfuges to perpetuate their enslavement. The material poverty of the Puerto Rican, Philippine, Cuban and Haitian peoples after generations of Wall Street rule, the oppression of the Negro people within the United States itself, speak more eloquently to other colonial peoples than all Washington’s wooing talk.

Nor are peasants and workers in colonial and dependent countries frightened by Voice of America fables about Soviet “aggression.” In Egypt, even conservative news organs declared, “It isn’t the Russians who are occupying our country. It isn’t Russians who are attempting to impose

on us alliances to eventually massacre our children." In fact, ever more people in the colonial countries realize that, were it not for the USSR, imperialist rule would be marked by even greater savagery.

The struggle for national independence is gaining momentum in the Latin American countries. In some, it is directed against the native as well as big foreign land and mine owners. In June 1952 the Guatemalan Congress passed an agrarian reform law providing for the distribution of land to the poor peasants—a law for which the peasant masses had fought long and bitterly. Despite intrigues by the State Department and the United Fruit Company, the government and Workers Party coalition won by a landslide in the January 1953 elections (50 seats as against eight for the opposition). Today, the Chilean working class, after five years of severe repression under Videla, is stronger than ever. It recently conducted a number of successful strikes in the foreign-owned copper and coal mines. The miners were joined by the textile workers, seamen and dockers. Practically all the unions joined the banner of the Confederation of the Working People of Chile. Their struggle led to changes in policy in relation to the U.S.A.

In Brazil, strikes were declared illegal, but more than 700,000 workers went on strike between 1948 and 1950. The Communist Party is outlawed. Its members, including its leader, Luis Carlos Prestes, are hounded by a Washington-supervised police force. But the underground party continues to lead the struggle of the Brazilian masses. It issues 27 weekly and monthly publications which are spread far and wide throughout the country. The peace movement was banned, but close to five million defied government terror and signed the Stockholm appeal. Popular pressure prevented ratification of a military pact with the United States, and the handing out of oil resources to U.S. companies.

On April 9, 1953, the masses of Bolivia took up arms and overthrew the U.S.-dominated government. Power was transferred to the National Revolutionary movement headed

by Paz Estensoro. It issued a decree nationalizing the mines held by the Patino, Rothschild and Aramayo companies controlling 80% of Bolivia's tin exports. Juan Lechin, Minister of Mines, declared that nationalization would "put an end to a long period of oppression and genocide by the mining companies. Four thousand miners," he declared, "were murdered by the tin companies in the last six years alone." "Latin America," warned John Foster Dulles, "may go the way of China." He promptly clamped down on U.S. Bolivian tin imports and froze Bolivian deposits in New York banks.

The Latin American bourgeois is attempting to rid itself of U.S. domination. Although fascist in structure, the Peron regime in Argentina has been subjected to severe U.S. economic pressure. In an attempt to get out of the U.S. price squeeze, Argentina has begun to trade on a barter basis with the socialist countries. The Peron government is challenging U.S. domination and has refused to line up with the U.S. on some crucial questions.

In the United Nations, the Latin American countries show signs of splitting with the U.S. on certain issues. The African-Asian-Arab bloc, although still fettered by economic dependency, is breaking away from Washington dictation on many issues. With increasing firmness its representatives demand self-determination, independence, and the right to do as they please in their own countries.

In India, ever-growing numbers of workers, peasants and intellectuals are losing faith in their government of moneylenders and profiteers. They see merchants, feudal lords and foreign companies enriching themselves on the labour of India's semi-starved millions. They see the New China solving her food problem, engaging in big industrialization projects—the China which, only yesterday, raked by famine, floods and imperialist plunder, had begged grain from the Wall Street philanthropists. Open revolts broke out in various provinces.

Fearing the coming storm, the Indian monied castes rushed their gold and other treasures to London and Swit-

zerland for safekeeping. Washington fostered an India-Pakistan feud, penetrated Buddhist temples with the Voice of America, sponsored congresses on Indian metaphysics, existentialism, freedom definitions, and denounced Marxism as "incompatible with the oriental way of life."

To keep itself in the saddle, the Nehru government, until recently largely a coalition of Big Business, landlords, princes and the police bureaucracy, adopted a "land reform act." It provides for the peasantry, 90% of whom do not have even the means to buy the most elementary products or implements, to purchase the land from the princes and Zamindars at a price eight times the annual income currently received from the land. The government also took other measures. The All-India Trade Union Congress in 1949 reported that 25,000 worker and peasant leaders were in jail. The London *New Statesmen and Nation* reported on September 10, 1949, that there are "perhaps as many as 200,000 Communists and others detained." The official figures of the Indian government showed that between August 15, 1947, and August 1, 1948, the police killed 3,784 people, wounded 10,161 and shot down 82 prisoners inside jails.

Although the Communist Party of India was compelled to work under conditions of semi-illegality, it laid the foundations for a united democratic front. In 1952, when the party became legal, it received six million votes, although many of its candidates were still in prison.

In their search for security, the trusts show a marked preference for investments in Central and West Africa. The relative backwardness, isolation and almost total illiteracy of the native population—they hope—will insure them for a long time to come against "Soviet aggression"—that is, against the masses becoming "infected" with progressive ideas. But the walls of this citadel, too, are crumbling. From Algeria to Kenya, Tanganyika, Rhodesia and South Africa, the palaces of the imperialist bosses are surrounded by flames of revolt.

The African and Indian National Congresses, representing more than 8 million people, together with many progres-

sive organizations, launched a campaign of non-violence to defy the Malan-Nazi racist laws. Alarmed at the large-scale campaign against *apartheid*, the Hitler-trained Malan police arrested and flogged thousands, and then, on November 7, 1952, murdered hundreds of Negroes in cold blood. The Malan government alleged that it was threatened by a Communist-led secret organization working to overthrow the government. Speaking in the same spirit as the American McCarthyites and Southern white supremacists, Malan declared, "From outside, the United Nations, Communist Russia, semi-Communist India and the British Labour Party combine in trying to force upon us an equality which must inevitably mean to white South Africa nothing less than national suicide." Shortly thereafter, the U.S. representative at the U.N. warned this body against condemning the Malan government, saying, "Let us not impute evil purpose or lack of intelligence to the people of South Africa."

In Central Africa, an African Democratic Union has arisen, two million strong. On the Ivory Coast, 800,000 out of a population of less than 2.5 million have joined this movement. A conference of African trade unions, held in Bamako in October 1951, laid the groundwork for building working class unity in Africa. On November 3, 1952, workers in all industries struck throughout French West Africa, Senegal, the Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and the Upper Volta. They organized united fronts, active and passive resistance movements for gaining higher wages and abolishing anti-trade union legislation. "Not one train ran. Not one 'boy' made a bed. Not one cook boiled water for his European master," wrote Abdoulay E. Diallo, one of the principal leaders of the African trade union movement. The November 3 action led to the adoption of a Labour Code which, among other rights won by the workers, bans forced labour. In a three-week strike, in December 1952, 40,000 mine workers in Northern Rhodesia wrested from the bosses a wage increase.

In May 1949, the trade union movement of Kenya organized the East African Trade Union Congress. In one

year the membership grew from 5,000 to 10,000. Later in 1949, 2,000 transport workers went on strike. Soon thereafter the British banned all meetings organized by the African Workers Federation. They arrested Daudi Unda and Japhet Banks, secretaries of the Federation, who were sentenced to hard labour. They also arrested Fred Kubai and Makham Singh. The Nairobi workers went out in a general strike. London replied with armoured cars, shootings and mass arrests.

On the Gold Coast the popular Convention People's Party gained the adherence of millions. To stem its growth, the British governor appealed to London for naval vessels. But the British finally had to yield and grant local rule to the Gold Coast population. "The youth of Nigeria are being swept off their feet by Communism," returning missionaries warned their masters in 1951. Hundreds of thousands from South Africa to the Sudan chanted, "Arise Africa!"—and "with clenched fist salutes," wrote the London *Times*. The thoughts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are penetrating Africa's thickest jungles. They are spreading over its prairies, kindling workers' minds in quarries and plantations, providing the people of the entire African continent with the most powerful weapons for liberating themselves from imperialist slavery.

From Kenya to Viet Nam

"I know of no labour conditions in the British sphere of Africa closer to slavery," reported Fenner Brockway, British Labour M.P., after his recent visit to Kenya.

The 5.5 million people of Kenya, ruled by 30,000 white settlers, repeatedly appealed to the United Nations and to their London masters for the return of at least part of the land stolen from them (Lord Delamere, Lord Waterpark and Lord Plymouth alone seized 1,250,000 acres of their best land). The Kenya leaders' 1952 U.N. appeal showed that

Kenya peasants are forced to give 180 days' free labour in a year to the white landlords for the right to live on the land that is theirs. The appeal demanded the release of the imprisoned leaders of the Kenya trade union movement, the end of racial discrimination and the granting of minimum democratic rights.

London replied with wholesale arrests, confiscation of cattle, and the collective punishment of entire villages. In October 1952 thousands of British troops swept into Kenya in planes and armoured cars to suppress the people's movement to recapture their land. The Kenya African Union was outlawed; its leader, Jomo Kenyatta, was arrested under the pretext that the Union was linked to the Mau Mau organization. Actually, the Mau Mau movement arose only after the British banned all legal Negro organizations, and after they had arrested 86 leading members of the Kenya African Union. Speaking in the House of Lords on October 29, 1952, Lord Strabolgi admitted that London exaggerated the extent of the Mau Mau movement to justify the brutal measures undertaken by the whites to prevent the advancement of the Negro population. The character of these measures is illustrated by what occurred on April 24, 1953 on the outskirts of Nairobi. The British, reported Reuters, "gave security orders to shoot any suspect who failed to halt when challenged. Nine hundred troops and police surrounded the Kariobangi village and herded 6,000 of the population into concentration camps while bulldozers crushed their huts." Similar events took place in other Kenya communities.

Imperialist methods of rule, their denial of all elementary democratic rights leave the working class and peasantry in the colonial countries no choice but to adopt other methods of struggle.

In view of the mounting reign of terror, the people of Kenya had no recourse but to take up arms. In September 1952 the resistance movement, encompassing a majority of the population, addressed a circular letter to each member of the British colony in Kenya. Headed "Africa Speaks," it

read as follows: "You arrested our leader, Jomo Kenyatta, and a lot of other people. Thousands of Africans, leading a normal life, have been stopped, searched, beaten, humiliated and arrested. . . . You have destroyed our press by arresting our editors and suppressing our newspapers. . . . Fascism has come to Kenya. But your brutality and rule of the gun will not stop us from our goal. You cannot suppress the voice of the people. We have now more men with brains and will continue to fight you and achieve our freedom. This is the voice of new Africa. We have been forced to go underground. But we are not afraid. We are six million and power is in our numbers. We will kill you as you are murdering us today. When our time comes, we shall not show mercy because you do not know what mercy is."

Once upon a time, complained the London *Economist*, "the Asiatics could be cowed by a show of power." But "the relatively sophisticated Abadan workers are no more impressed."

Force and terror, imperialism's main weapons, had lost their former effectiveness. Even tanks and planes could no longer stem the advance of the awakening colonial peoples. For they had learned to strike back.

The new kind of people's liberation struggle arose out of a combination of circumstances. The example furnished by the Soviet peoples, the rapid progress of the new China, enormously advanced the political consciousness of the people in colonial countries. This new outlook generated a powerful morale. Unity between workers and peasants was also forged by the larger number of landless peasants, by the swelling of working class ranks, by the stepped-up imperialist terror, and, finally, by the effects of World War II which shattered the might of the British, French, Dutch and Japanese empires and weakened their hold upon the colonial peoples.

During the second World War, the patriots and anti-fascists in the colonial and dependent countries gained experience in the use of weapons. Large numbers took part in the struggle against Japanese, Italian and German fascism.

Actual combat taught the oppressed peoples that they could outfight the mercenary imperialist forces. Even before Korea, the people's liberation armies punctured the arrogant white master-race delusions, above all in Malaya and Indo-China.

On September 2, 1946, the people of Indo-China announced the formation of a republic with Ho Chi Minh as their leader.* On March 6, 1946, Paris recognized the independent Republic of Viet Nam, but simultaneously Léon Blum, then head of the government, started the war against it by ordering the bombardment of Haiphong and Hanoi, killing 6,000 inhabitants. The Paris bankers anticipated a brief, victorious campaign. They hoped, by utilizing native troops, to set "Asians to kill Asians." However, out of the 22 million population of Viet Nam only a few thousand mercenaries could be gotten, and these often deserted to the people's forces. Even the king of Cambodia declared that he deserved punishment for joining the French Union. He had to admit that the thinking masses of Cambodia realize that the Communist-led Viet Nam is fighting for national independence of the country and that Cambodians will not die for the French to help them stay there.

The days of cheap colonial cannon fodder are no more. It took four billion francs a week and the sacrifice of the best-trained French troops and officers, together with mercenaries recruited from among former Nazi soldiers, just to hold on to a few cities. In 1953, after seven years of incessant warfare and 200,000 casualties, the half-million French invaders held less than 20% of Viet Minh territory.

* Viet Nam came under the rule of the French Bank of Indo-China in 1889. It began its operations with two million francs, which had swelled to 10 billion in 1948. Besides the billions it paid out in dividends. Its annual report of June 11, 1948, said that its 1947 opium and alcohol sales netted a billion francs in profits. The Bank of Indo-China laws in Viet Nam require of each police prefect that 6,200 litres of brandy be consumed monthly in his area, or seven litres per inhabitant per month. Penalties are meted out to villages which consume less. In all other respects, rule in Indo-China resembles that in other colonial countries.

On January 8, 1949, Andrew Roth reported in the *Nation* that a prominent member of the Bao Dai government admitted to him that "almost 99% of the Vietnamese people favour Ho Chi Minh's resistance government." "Out of every hundred soldiers who come here, only five live to go home.... Monsieur, we are finished here, we French," a French soldier told Darrel Berrigan, a *Saturday Evening Post* correspondent. "The French Army has no discipline," added Berrigan. "Only the Germans are strong here.... But the Germans are as demoralized as the French." Bigger deficits and deeper bankruptcy are all that the French imperialists have reaped from their blood adventure.¹

Disillusioned Paris bankers, noting that the game was not worth the candle, were almost willing to withdraw. "Marshall Plan aid just about covered about 50 per cent of our Viet Nam expenditures," whined Auriol on October 24, 1952. (The war in Indo-China has cost France more than \$7,000,000,000 surpassing all the dollar aid it received since World War II from the United States). But, meanwhile, as French financial difficulties mounted, Wall Street moved into Indo-China. Viet Nam borders on China for nearly 500 miles; like Korea, it could serve as a jumping-off place for an attack against China. Wall Street bolstered the sagging French imperialists by promising more aid.

In April 1953, after the rout of the French forces in Laos, Washington tried to take advantage of the situation to internationalize the war, to create a Korean situation in Viet Nam. Hold on, urged the Eisenhower-Dulles fraternity; shiploads of napalm and new types of flame-throwers are on the way. The United States furnished the French another 90 million rounds of ammunition, 80,000 automatic weapons, 11,000 transport vehicles, more planes, besides

¹ To gain financial domination, Washington pressed the French to revalue the Indo-Chinese piaster in relation to the dollar. The *New York Times* revealed that "most of the French civilians in Indo-China are there only because they can buy francs there cheaply to send back home. The same thing is true of the Army."

other ⁶items of military equipment. The French held on, but at staggering sacrifices.

On December 18, 1953, the *New York Times* reported that Ho Chi Minh recently twice notified Paris that, "If the French government wants to have an armistice in Viet Nam through negotiations, and to settle the Viet Nam problem by peaceful means, the People's Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will be ready to talk with the French government." However, at the Bermuda Conference Premier Joseph Laniel pledged to Eisenhower and Churchill that his government will continue the war and reject the peace offers of the Viet Nam government. This promise, reported Benjamin Welles in the *New York Times*, "will help insure U.S. and British support (of France) in Europe and in unruly North Africa."

In Malaya, the British trusts are desperately clutching at the methods of rule they used against the people of India and in the war against the Boers of South Africa, methods later faithfully copied by their Ruhr partners. Like the German fascists, the British put prices on the heads of resistance leaders. In April, 1952, the British offered \$85,000 for the capture of Chin Peng, leader of the Malayan people's liberation movement, \$55,000 for the capture, dead or alive, of a Malayan Communist Party Central Committee member and \$800 for any rank and file party member. Under the savage Briggs-Templer plan, the inhabitants of Malayan towns and villages who refuse to become stoolpigeons against the people's resistance forces are dealt with in this manner: All their goods and belongings, including their land, are confiscated. The older men, as well as the women and children, are evacuated to concentration camps. "You will never live here again," shouted Sir Gerald Templer, the British commandant of Malaya, to the villagers of Matang Tinggi, on August 21, 1952. Their homes were burned to the ground.

The *London Observer*, describing the levelling of a village and the banishment of its inhabitants, wrote, "there was no whining or begging. They were given a few

minutes to collect what they could. . . . The hut burst into a slow explosion of flame, and the family stood and watched, ankle-deep in all they had. That happened five times. Once a child started to scream. Others just stood, their faces marble-cold. At the end of the line, an old woman waited at the door of her hut. Her son crouched outside, his legs and arms like chicken limbs, approaching the slow end of his consumption. Inside was a climax of all poverty."

By 1953, hundreds of villages, tens of thousands of homes were wiped out. Official figures of the London government show that between April, 1950, and March, 1952, 430,000 Malayan men, women and children (out of a total population of 5,000,000) have been placed in concentration camps.

This savagery hardened the people's determination to carry on the anti-imperialist struggle. Five years of continuous assault by over 150,000 British land, air and marine forces failed to subdue the Malayan resistance movement. Headed by Chin Peng, it has established its own government, schools, printing plants and other institutions—all in the jungle. Some 90% of Malaya is a dense jungle, and "the jungle would not burn," complained General Briggs. To wreak their vengeance, the British bombed towns and villages indiscriminately. The Royal Air Force sprayed chemicals to destroy the crops. "Actual rebel troops never numbered more than two or three thousand. But they tied down hundreds of thousands of British troops," explained Elliot Watrous, head of the British Information Service, "because a new man immediately takes the place of a fallen or defected guerrilla."

The mercenary imperialist armies confronted people's forces imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice. "A Viet Nam freedom fighter," reported the *New York Times*, "became a 'human bomb,' killing with grenades General Charles Chanson, commander of French ground forces in southern Indo-China, an Annamite governor, and himself. This freedom fighter was identified as a 25-year-old youth, a member of a suicide battalion of the Viet Minh forces."

What Marx said of the workers who were joining the socialist movement in the last century is even truer today of the rising peoples in the colonial countries. He wrote: "The brotherhood of man on their lips is not a phrase but a truth, and from their faces, hardened by affliction, the whole beauty of mankind looks upon us."

Knell of Imperialism

Imperialism is losing its freedom of movement; it is being fenced in. "Every rubber estate in Malaya," reported A. H. Steele in the *New York Times*, "is a virtual fortress. The planter's bungalow is ringed with barbed wire, trenches and machine-gun posts, and floodlighted throughout the night. Squads of armed guards maintain a twenty-four hour patrol. The planter himself never leaves his house without a pistol strapped to his hip and perhaps a sub-machine-gun in the crook of his arm."

In a story from Kenya, Albion Ross wrote that the British settlers "eat with a gun on the table beside them, one eye on the servant and the other on the window." *The New Statesman and Nation* on December 13, 1952, reported Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor of Kenya, as asking: "Will money be invested in East Africa if every European carries a gun and every African hides his panga? Will business thrive in Nairobi without willing African labour? Will the delectable life of the settler in a country advertised so widely and so truthfully as the loveliest in the world, continue if no European can trust the African who tills the soil or serves his meals?"

Reporting on his experiences in the French Army in Indo-China, Guy de Chaumont-Guitry, himself a mercenary, wrote: "I suspect everyone. I peer into people's faces trying to divine their intentions, and it robs me of my peace of mind. My nights are uneasy, I wake up suddenly and listen tensely to the sounds around, to conversations in the neigh-

bouring huts and the lone shots that ring out on every side The Viet-Nameese generally learn about our movements even before the troops that have been selected for the operation. They know in what direction we intend to strike, and with what forces. The enemy slips out through the gaps between our units, for we cannot build up a solid encirclement. The population disappears in the jungle, and when we arrive, we find empty villages. But when the Viet-Nameese attack, they strike with certainty. They know exactly what forces they have to contend with, they bring out machine-guns and mortars and wipe out our transport convoys and patrols. When people's army troops attack French garrisons, the local population set fire to garrison buildings and join the attacking forces. Troops dare not venture even 100 metres beyond fortifications."

The colonial peoples are thus learning to overcome the temporary military superiority of their enemies and are working miracles in the process—a fact of tremendous historical significance. In the beginning, the Viet Minh fought mostly with clubs and hunting guns. But they held at bay and inflicted heavy losses, first on the Japanese and later on the superbly-equipped French armies. They also learned to make good use of the artillery they captured from the enemy. From scattered guerrilla bands, they grew into a formidable army. The stalling of the American forces in Korea and the French in Viet Nam prove that machines can never match the élan of a people's army; that superior armour, while important, is by no means decisive. This was also proven by the victorious struggle of Soviet Russia in 1918-22 against the interventionist armies of fourteen nations, the Red Army's victory over the thoroughly-armed Hitlerite forces, the Chinese people's triumph over the immensely better-equipped Japanese and Chiang forces.

Against the enemy's initial air superiority, mass bombing and artillery concentrations, the people's forces counter with night fighting, dispersal, withdrawal, infiltration and encirclement. Some of these tactics were used by the American people themselves in the Revolution of 1776. Struggling

against tyranny and oppression, the American revolutionists defeated the far better equipped British armies and their Hessian mercenaries.

Meanwhile, imperialism is now creating more rapidly than before the conditions leading to its downfall. The low wages and one-sided economy in the colonial and dependent countries worsen the capitalist market problem. Imperialism turns most colonies into raw material appendages. The entire economic life of the colonies depends on the sale of a few commodities—coffee, sugar, rubber, tin, copper, etc. Any fall in demand or prices of raw materials on the world market immediately leads to mass unemployment and mass starvation in the colonial and dependent countries. Recently, for example, only a moderate downtrend in U.S. stockpiling of tin and rubber severely disrupted the economies of a number of South American and Southeast Asian countries.

On the other hand, insofar as imperialism pushes further capital investments in the backward countries, it does so only by intensifying repression and by creating its real nemesis—a revolutionary working class allied with the oppressed peasantry, an invincible people's liberation movement. Thus, "capitalism itself gradually procures for the vanquished the means and resources for their emancipation."

The crisis in the colonial countries has become the pivotal factor in the entire world situation and is bound up with the deepening political and economic problems of present-day capitalism. Colonial exploitation has to be carried on under the panoply of countless weapons. Although still profitable for the various trusts, operations are paid for by huge military expenditures and ruinous taxes upon the people of the imperialist nations.

With over 200 billion dollars in profits since 1946, the U.S. corporations are hard put to find areas abroad to which they can export their capital. Since 1951, capital exports have actually declined. U.S. big business men have set goals of two to four billion dollars a year in private capital exports as necessary for the stability of the economy. Actually, the annual new capital exports have not ranged far

above one billion dollars yearly, and recently they fell off sharply. While this may be a temporary fall, it should be noted that the 1929 crash was preceded by a sharp decline in capital exports.

The new type of liberation struggle in the colonial countries clearly spells the end of imperialism as a world system. The relentless struggle of the millions in Viet Nam, Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, India, Indoncsia, Africa and Latin America are sapping monopoly capitalism's foundations. To survive, the imperialists must intensify exploitation and make living conditions in the colonial areas still more unendurable.

The *stupendous* revolutionary forces set in motion by this antagonism cannot be checked. And the most significant aspect of the people's liberation struggle during this phase of capitalism's general crisis is that it surges *simultaneously* in practically all colonial and dependent countries. Close to one billion people are rising to break the chains of enslavement, while advancing the cause of peace and democracy for humanity as a whole.

Chapter V

The Korean War: Lessons & Portents

THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES seething throughout the colonial and dependent countries reached their highest historical expression in the Chinese people's liberation movement. Involving almost half a billion people, the victory of the Chinese Revolution gave a new impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle of all the Asian peoples. This victory struck the already-battered foundations of the imperialist system with the force of an earthquake.

Next to Latin America, China and Southeast Asia represented Wall Street's most vital hinterland market and exploitation area. As we will show, the burning desire to recapture it impelled the June 25, 1950 attack against North Korea. First, however, let us review briefly Washington's past record on Korea and China. This will clarify its present designs.

European commercial penetration of China dates back many centuries, but open and large-scale aggression against the Chinese people began in 1840, when China opposed the introduction of opium. Britain declared war, took over Hong Kong, and levied a tax on Chinese trade. In 1860 the United States and Britain jointly intervened to smash anti-feudal Taiping rebellion. American warships fired on Korea in 1871, and along with the Japanese, attacked Formosa in 1874. In 1900 Washington took part in crushing the Boxer rebellion and compelled China to accept the stationing of U.S. troops in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai, with U.S. warships on duty off the coast of China and on the Yangtze River.

By the early twentieth century, China was ruthlessly exploited by British, American, Japanese, German, French,

tsarist Russian, Portuguese, and other capitalists. These invaders put armed forces on Chinese territory, forced extra-territorial rights for their citizens, and detached choice bits of Chinese territory as foreign-flag colonies. They owned most of the mines, railroads, cotton mills, and other industries. They set up war-lord armies to help them take over larger shares of Chinese territory. About 1900, U.S. capital began to flow toward Korea, and some of its biggest mines—Kapsan, Suan, Holton and others—came under U.S. ownership.

In 1912, when a provisional revolutionary Chinese government was formed in Nanking, the United States intrigued against Sun Yat-sen, forcing his resignation. In 1917, the United States and Japan concluded an open-door agreement against China and supported various war lords in their efforts to crush the developing national liberation movement. On May 30, 1925, U.S. Marines supported the British and Japanese in their bloody massacre of Shanghai's workers.*

In January 1927, the American fleet steamed toward Shanghai to help suppress the Chinese Revolution, and on March 24 it bombarded Nanking. For a decade, the United States supported the Japanese war against China with loans, credits, raw materials and armaments.

Foreign interests supported the oppressive feudal sys-

* Edgar Snow described the lot of the workers in imperialist-ruled Shanghai: "I remember that during 1934, more than 29,000 bodies were picked up from the streets and rivers and canals of Shanghai—bodies of the destitute poor and the starved or drowned babies or children they could not feed. . . . I remember. . . the hundreds of factories where little boy and girl slave workers sit or stand at their tasks twelve or thirteen hours a day, and then drop in exhausted sleep to the dirty cotton quilt, their bed, directly beneath their machine. I remember little girls and the pale young women in cotton factories, all of them like most factory contract labour in Shanghai, literally sold into these jobs as virtual slaves for four or five years, unable to leave the heavily-guarded, high-walled premises, day or night, without special permission." (Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, New York, 1937.)

tem since it retarded the development of industry and agriculture and kept China dependent on imports from abroad. Although possessing extremely fertile regions, some of them yielding two and three crops annually, China had to import rice, wheat, sugar, cotton and other basic agricultural products. Famine in China partly relieved the United States of its "surpluses." In 1946, as a result of U.S. dumping, 80% of China's tobacco enterprises and 75% of its textile factories were forced to close down.

During 20 years of Kuomintang and Japanese pillage and murder the Chinese people endured limitless suffering and deprivation. The eight years of struggle against the Japanese invaders alone cost China more than ten million lives, besides countless burned towns and villages with estimated property losses of about \$50 billion.

In 1945 the United States defeated Japanese military might in the Pacific. The Soviet Far Eastern armies crushed the Japanese forces in Manchuria. China's people yearned for peace, and also for freedom from famine, from the knout of the domestic oppressor, from feudalism and the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek clique.

But eight thousand miles away, the world's biggest bankers and merchants decided otherwise. The ripening fruits of the Chinese Revolution were to be destroyed. The fetters of the Tokyo masters were to be supplanted by those of Wall Street. While telling the world that it was acting as adviser-mediator, Washington dispatched army, marine and naval forces to intervene in the civil war on Chiang Kai-shek's side. It airlifted his armies into the areas evacuated by the Japanese. U.S. generals rushed to various Pacific islands where arms depots were bursting with idle weapons. To stimulate the production of new armaments, they quickly disposed of six billion dollars' worth of those in stock. They armed 64 Chiang divisions, 18 special columns, 20 security regiments and a paratroop corps, furnishing them with thousands of field guns, planes, tanks and millions of bombs and bullets. Chiang's victory, they calculated, was a mathematical certainty. In 1946 he had about five million troops

against 1.5 million in the People's Liberation Army, with a fire superiority of five to one. Arms were on the way to equip three million more troops for Chiang.

The Rise of New China

But the struggle against the Japanese had imbued China's peasants and workers with confidence in their own power. It also hardened their hatred against Chiang's incredibly cruel regime. Millions of peasants and workers joined the ranks of the People's Liberation Army. The 600,000 volunteers, the 300,000 carts and one million draft animals the peasants sent the People's Liberation Army to maintain its transport system, proved superior to the numerous American jeeps and trucks in the service of the Kuomintang. Most of the American arms were captured. New people's divisions were equipped with them. Washington, declared Mao Tse-tung, became the People's Liberation Army's arsenal and Chiang its transport chief.* With millions of its sons and daughters fired with a new consciousness, the new China fought to the end and won.

Victory came as the result of years of mass education, unceasing toil and heroic struggle by the Chinese Communist Party and the skilful tactics of its great leaders. In 1927, a few thousand members of the old army had risen against Chiang Kai-shek's treason; under Chu Teh's leadership they formed the first nucleus of the People's Army. Peasants from Hunan, under Mao Tse-tung, joined their ranks. Fighting hunger and disease, hunted and harassed by pursuing Chiang forces, this people's army traversed eight thousand miles in its legendary "long march," crossing

* In the nearly four years of civil war, the People's Liberation Army won over to its side more than 1,770,000 Kuomintang troops, captured over 50,000 pieces of artillery, over 300,000 machine-guns, over 30,000 tanks, armoured cars and motor vehicles, besides huge quantities of other military equipment.

mountains, rivers, swamps and deserts, and finally reached Yen-an in October 1935. Years of bitter struggle followed. With the aid of German, then French, Japanese, and then American weapons and generals, Chiang led five different annihilation campaigns against this army. Although equipped with primitive weapons, the People's Army smashed each one of them. With Yen-an as its centre, it then took up the struggle against the Japanese, establishing large guerrilla bases behind the invader's lines.

Chiang Kai-shek, acting mainly as the agent of China's foreign oppressors, rejected the repeated offers of the Communist leaders to halt the civil war. Longing for peace and for national independence, the vast majority of the people, including sections of the national bourgeoisie and even some members of the Kuomintang itself, joined the Communist-led coalition government. Because of their profound devotion to the people's interests, the forces of the New China grew into an invincible army of millions.

The victory of the revolution put China's 475 million people on a new road. They began at once to cleanse the country of its accumulated feudal rot. After becoming the masters of their own land, the people set to work with tremendous enthusiasm. Workers and peasants, the heroes of yesterday's battles, turned into heroes of peaceful labour.

For hundreds of years China's treacherous rivers had inundated the fertile valleys each year, ruining crops and devastating areas the size of France. Responding to Mao Tse-tung's call to conquer floods and famines, an army of over five million men and women began the work of taming their country's wild rivers. Within one year they moved over ten billion cubic feet of earth and stone, and constructed dams and dikes with a total length of 1,500 miles. They also erected giant reservoirs to impound the flood waters of their big rivers. Safe harvests were restored to more than one-seventh of China's arable land.

The revolution broke the fetters of feudalism. Tens of millions of peasants received land and were freed from usury and exploitation. Instead of surrendering two-thirds

of their crops to landlords, they kept 80% for themselves. As a result, the 1950 harvest yielded 550 pounds of cereal for each of China's inhabitants, double the country's previous consumption. In 1952, People's China raised a grain harvest of 150 million tons, 40 million above the 1949 harvest. Famine, China's traditional enemy, had been conquered.

The foundations of an industrialized China were built under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union. Age-old backwardness, poverty, ignorance and illiteracy were being liquidated. For the first time, combines and Diesel tractors, machinists and agronomists appeared on the fields of China. Schools, libraries, culture and health centres, hundreds of newspapers and theatres sprang up almost overnight. The people's intellectual and creative aspirations, for centuries thwarted and crushed, found expression in art and literature. In the words of the poet, Hu Feng, "The Chinese one-fourth of mankind have risen in all their titanic majesty."

For months after the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, stunned Washington officials literally refused to believe that the old China was no more. The loss of tribute from the economic exploitation of China was a severe enough blow. Even worse was the impact of the victorious Chinese Revolution upon the other peoples of Asia. China's buoyant songs of liberation reverberated from one end of Asia to the other. Above all, Wall Street resisted the changed relationship of world forces which came into being when China's 475 million joined the Soviet-led world peace camp. The USSR established friendly relations with the people's government of China the very day it came into power, concluding a treaty of fraternal alliance and mutual assistance. "This treaty," declared Molotov, "is a mighty force for the consolidation of world peace, the like of which does not exist and never existed in the history of the human race." (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

Some Washington officials consoled themselves that the leaders of the new China "are not incorruptible," that

Peking might yet become another Belgrade, and that political pressure and economic boycott would finally compel them to beg for American "aid." Others gambled on so-called traditional Chinese "inefficiency," lack of technical forces, famine, sabotage, continuation of the civil war, Chiang Kai-shek raids, to be followed by further American intervention—indeed, the same hopes cherished by Churchill and the White Guardists in 1918 about the young Soviet republic.

However, these expectations came to nought. The new Chinese government had beaten the U.S. embargo by producing record cotton crops, attained self-sufficiency in basic food products, halted inflation, stabilized prices, and achieved a 90% gain over 1949 in the output of the Manchurian industries. The *New York Times* reported on June 24, 1951, "The Chinese Communists can point to remarkable achievements in construction and management. They have achieved outstanding results in rehabilitating roads and railways, cleaning up cities, instituting administrative efficiency, eliminating corruption, controlling rivers and improving production in city and country."

The Last Outpost

In its White Paper on China, released on August 5, 1949, the State Department admitted that the Chiang regime had lost all popular support and was too rotten to save. "The ominous result of the civil war in China," it noted, "was beyond the control of the government of the United States. Nothing that this country did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed that result; nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it. It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not." Indeed, the ousted Chiang regime was rotten, but so was that of Bao Dai in Indo-China, Quirino in the Philip-

piners, Songgramm in Siam, Yoshida in Japan, and of Rhce in South Korea. The Chinese Revolution had to be kept from spreading to other parts of Asia; only the weakening or smashing of the New China offered any hope.

The White Paper was accompanied by discreet recommendations for further diversions. But the big problem was *how*. Chiang's last hideout on Formosa was a hundred miles off the mainland. His chances of reconquering any part of it, as well as his military strength in that period, were practically zero.

China's legal government in Peking, however, had announced its sovereignty over Formosa. This, some Pentagon men calculated at first, might offer them the opportunity to re-establish that lost contact. Peking, they hoped, might be lured into an attempt to occupy Formosa. "Formosa is part of China, it has no special military significance," unexpectedly announced the State Department on December 23, 1949, even adding explicitly that "the U.S. has assumed no responsibilities or obligations, actual or moral, towards it." On January 5, 1950, Truman reaffirmed this policy statement, adding that "the U.S. government has on predatory designs on Formosa and will not provide military aid or advice to the Chinese forces on Formosa."

While trying to create the impression that its interest in Formosa, like its love for Chiang, was purely platonic, Washington secretly rushed shipments of guns, planes and ammunition to the island. Even while Truman was talking of "no predatory designs," a Reuters dispatch of January 3, 1950, reported "a \$90 million U.S. arms shipment to Formosa which included tanks costing \$60,000 priced at \$1,000 apiece." American advisers had already been sent to direct Chiang's bombing forays against the mainland.

Their hoped-for battle for Formosa did not materialize. Peking refused Washington's invitation to provide a pretext for further U.S. intervention. Despite repeated injections of new weapons and dollars, the Chiang corpse failed to come to life. The various military missions dispatched to re-estimate Chiang's military potentialities, returned with

disappointing reports. Only large-scale and direct U.S. intervention, they concluded, held out any hope of re-imposing the Kuomintang regime upon the Chinese people.

The U.S. Seventh Fleet had long since been dispatched "to guard the Formosan Straits," and was ready. Most of the Pentagon men, and especially the MacArthur Far East Command, were itching for action. They accused some Truman men of being "crypto-Communists," responsible for the U.S. disaster in China, because they had "coddled the Chinese Communists." The MacArthur-Knowland-Taft-Ferguson "Asia First" groups unleashed a big propaganda campaign for direct intervention.

To those who counselled patience until the armies of Chiang and the Japanese were built up, the Asia First group replied that China was becoming more invulnerable with every day of peace. General Claire Lee Chennault, one of their spokesmen, declared: "The U.S. Army with Chiang's can retake the Chinese mainland. . . . It offers the best bargain. . . . It would bear rich fruits." And this, he added, is "the view of General MacArthur, Wedemeyer and many others." The determination among the decisive military and financial groups for some kind of war against China became more fixed.

With the beginning of 1950, time was pressing. Britain, India, and a host of other countries had already recognized the new Peking government. Various American trade unions, as well as some West Coast shipping and trading circles, proposed that normal business relations be established with China. Also, many European conservatives stated that Washington's stubborn refusal to recognize an un-American China was absurd. It seemed as though Peking's demand to be admitted as a member of the United Nations, championed as it was by the Soviet Union, could no longer be stalled. The voice of Chiang's agent in the U.N., representing nobody, but voting in the name of China's 475 million people, became ever more farcical. Even some U.S. satellites began to question the validity of U.N. decisions on Far Eastern questions, taken without consultation with China. To keep from

becoming a party to this U.N. swindle, the Soviet Union refused to take part in deliberations attended by Chiang's representative. Washington's dilemma was twofold. Soviet and Chinese abstention exposed the U.N. majority for what it was—a State Department rubber stamp. On the other hand, to admit China to the U.N. would strengthen the world peace camp and hamper the conversion of Japan into an advanced war base against the Soviet Union and China—a high-priority item on the Pentagon timetable.

All this called for more than shouting allegiance to the already ludicrous Chiang. It called for the precipitation of a state of war against China. And with the Chiang-Pentagon war machine on Formosa stranded and isolated, the only solid point of contact between the U.S. military machine and the Asian mainland was South Korea.

Gateway to Invasion

The Korean peninsula, jutting out from China's mainland, had already served eight times before as a springboard for major assaults against China and Russia. It had provided a roadway for the numerous Japanese invasions of the Manchurian and Siberian provinces. Indeed, historically as well as strategically, aggression against Korea has signified aggression against China, just as an attack upon Mexico or Canada would constitute aggression upon the United States. Apart from their vital geographic relationship, the Chinese and Korean peoples are also sister nations. After 1905, when Korea was annexed by the Japanese, China became the sanctuary for tens of thousands of Korean patriots and revolutionaries. For over three decades, Chinese and Koreans fought together against the Japanese and Chiang's armies. The bonds linking both peoples are such that either would be sure to rush to the aid of the other in case of attack.

In view of all this, the attention of the Pentagon men,

after some prodding by the Asia First group, turned more sharply toward the classic gateway to China's mainland. MacArthur's counsel was decisive, not only with the Asia First crowd, but also with the top Wall Street financial circles. A millionaire himself, he was hailed by them as a great soldier-statesman, crowned with a halo of omnipotence, and groomed as America's man on horseback. Aspiring to become the "monarch" of the Far East, MacArthur had apparently memorized the notorious Tanaka Memorandum which taught that world rule cannot be attained without first conquering China, and this in turn cannot be achieved without first subjugating Korea. On numerous occasions he advanced the thesis that "*by occupying all of Korea, we can hammer the only supply lines which connect Soviet Siberia with the South. . . . We could control the whole area between Vladivostok and Singapore. . . . Nothing would then be beyond the reach of our power.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.) By 1950 the internal situation in Korea had reached the point where the first step toward the realization of this paramount objective seemed both urgent and propitious.

Actually, Wall Street's war against the Korean people began in September 1945, at the very moment its generals set foot in South Korea.

Professor George M. McCune, former State Department adviser, and America's foremost expert on Korean affairs, wrote in his book, *Korea Today*, "Before the Americans landed on Korea, many prominent Koreans," together "with a large number of patriots released from Japanese prison cells after the surrender, convened a National Congress in Seoul, attended by representatives from all parts of Korea."

On September 6, 1945, the Congress proclaimed the establishment of a People's Republic. This took place before a single American soldier landed in Korea. McCune writes, "When American forces arrived in Korea on September 8, the People's Republic offered its services to the American Command, but was given the cold shoulder. General Hodges declared that 'military government is the only government for Korea.'" General Hodges, then Chief

of the U.S. Command in Korea, dissolved the National Congress and declared: "The Koreans are the same sort of cats as the Japanese," and "the Japanese officials, including the police, must be restored to their positions in Korea to prevent chaos."

In April 1946, Syngman Rhee, propped by American bayonets, arrested the leaders of all the democratic organizations. A poll conducted in that year by Americans revealed that 49% of the South Korean people preferred the former brutal Japanese occupiers to the Americans.

In September 1947, the Soviet Union proposed that all occupation troops be evacuated, and that the Korean people, North and South, be permitted to choose their own government. Fearing the people's repudiation of its Syngman Rhee puppet regime, the United States insisted on elections with foreign troops present. It organized one such election, which allowed only 30% of the voters to participate. McCune writes, "The casualties which attended the elections indicate that improper pressure has been exerted by officials and terrorist groups."

In protest, 240 delegates, representing 57 South Korean organizations and practically all political parties except the handful of Rhee fascists, then convened in North Korea in April 1948 and adopted a programme for general elections and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

In December 1948 the Soviet Union evacuated its troops from North Korea. In the elections that followed, the North Korean workers and farmers voted for the establishment of a people's republic. The new government distributed farm implements and six million acres of land to 680,000 peasant families; nationalized banks and industries; introduced universal education, the eight-hour day, and social security for workers, and began to build new industries, theatres, schools and cultural centres.

In the south, American troops stayed on until the spring of 1949. There, the MacArthur-Morgan combine, pursuing the same aims as the Mitsubishi, retained more or less the

same social order. Three per cent of the population kept their hold on 60% of the land. Peasants continued to pay 80% of their crop to the landlords. In their 40 years of rule the Japanese monopolists had established opium-smoking prostitution, the sale of girls and children, the twelve-hour day. Japanese capital, which earned a 13% net profit in Japan, reaped 33% in Korea. While Wall Street companies grabbed up the titles to former Japanese-held lands, mines and factories, General Hodges bolstered the Rhee regime by training and equipping a South Korean army of 250,000 troops, plus numerous terrorist squads.

Lacking mass support, the American-sponsored Rhee puppet regime tried to rule by fascist terror. "Rhee's minister, Ahn Ho Sang," reported the *New York Times*, "is German trained and is using techniques modelled after those in Nazi Germany." The people replied with strikes, demonstrations, and finally with uprisings and armed resistance. The troops sent to crush the rebels frequently joined them instead. Rhee had to hire professional assassins from Chiang Kai-shek as well as thugs formerly in the service of the Japanese.

On November 15, 1948, a *Life* correspondent reported from Suchon, South Korea: "all of their men and boys were screened for loyalty. . . . Behind them stood two men with clubs. They beat the kneeling group over the heads and backs until the beaters had to pause for breath. . . . Rifle butts smashed out teeth." On February 1, 1950 (five months before Americans began dying for Wall Street-Rhee "democracy,") the *New York Times* reported, "Many Americans are horrified by the deaths and torture and wholesale executions. . . . The National Assembly has raised a hue and cry over the number of prominent people who were dying under police and army torture."

In May 1950, the fascist Rhee regime was on the verge of break-up and dissolution. It was overwhelmingly defeated in the elections during that month. Despite terror and the disfranchisement of all democratic and labour

organizations, it received less than 20% of the popular vote and only 45 out of the 210 seats in the Assembly. Rhee remained in power, threatening severe reprisals against anyone responding to the invitations of the North to establish a united Korea. Lee Yung, the vice president, declared, "The constitution is crippled. I am afraid of terror, murder and what not. None of the officials are qualified to hold their positions." By 1950 the Rhee regime had already murdered a total of 149,000 people to maintain itself in power. Like every bankrupt and panicky oligarchy, it pinned its last hopes of survival on a war.

Since the Rhee regime was tottering and opposed by the vast majority of the Korean people, only American re-occupation could stem its downfall. Preservation of the Rhee regime Washington realized called for the crushing of the democratic forces both North and South. In our present era, as Hitler demonstrated, this can be most effectively carried out under the mask of defence against "Communist aggression."

The North Korean and Chinese governments have published many captured South Korean documents which show that the Rhee men had made preparations for the attack months before June 25, 1950. Washington has never presented one bit of evidence to the contrary. Instead, American press reports written prior to the out-break of the war confirm the evidence furnished by the North Koreans. On August 24, 1948, MacArthur had told the Syngman Rhee men, "An artificial barrier has divided your land. This barrier must be torn down." On September 30, 1949, Rhee wrote to Dr. Robert Oliver, his Washington agent, "I am firmly convinced that the psychological moment has arrived for military action. You must influence American leaders and public opinion to silently approve our first operations and later for the necessary military assistance." On October 21, 1949, on board an American warship, Rhee bluntly declared that Korea must be united by armed force. "We could take Pyongyang in three days," he boasted. "Our troops are ready to drive into North Korea."

Plotting the War

On August 5, 1949, Allan Raymond reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* that "The one outstanding thing about the South Korean army is its outspoken desire to take the offensive against North Korea." In the winter and spring of 1950, Rhee troops constantly engaged in raids violating the North Korean frontier. Rhee demanded heavier weapons, declaring that "the cries of distress of our countrymen in the North can no longer be ignored." *Three months before the Korean war broke out*, on March 14, 1950, Walter Sullivan wrote in the *New York Times* that "13 members of the South Korean National Assembly ... were found guilty today on charges of violating the National Security Act and sentenced to prison terms ranging from 1½ to 10 years." Among the charges levelled against them, he reported, was the one of "*opposing the invasion of North Korea by South Korean forces.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

On May 2, 1950, *U.S. News & World Report* cited Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "A lot of them (in Washington) believe that events will transpire which will manoeuvre around and present an incident which will make us fight. That is what a lot of them are saying. We have got to battle some time... why not now?" According to Homer Bigart, on June 12, 1950, "The Korean Ambassador, John M. Chang, warned high officials of the State Department that his country was on the verge of collapse." He pleaded for "some guarantee of armed intervention by the U.S. in the event of war." (His successor, Ben C. Limb, boasted on October 19, 1953 in a radio broadcast "our aim is to unify Korea under Rhee" and "*that is why we started the war.*")

As a result of this plea, John Foster Dulles, whom the Alsops described as "a dashing and fearless gambler willing to risk all on the turn of a card" as well as high military officials, left for South Korea. Dulles conferred with the Rhee officials, assuring them of full American support. On June 19, 1950, he told the South Korean Assembly, "You are not

alone. You will never be alone so long as you continue to play worthily your part in the great design." Rhee replied, "If we cannot preserve democracy by the cold war, we shall win a victory in the hot war." On June 18, addressing the troops on his "inspection" trip to the 38th Parallel, Dulles declared that "the United States was prepared to give all the moral and material aid that South Korea needed in its fight against Communism." On June 20, before leaving, he wrote to Rhee, "I am conscious of the important and decisive part your country will play in the drama that now begins." "

The drama had already begun. For on June 18, 1950, a second and hurried conference of Joint Chiefs of Staff was being held in Tokyo. The first had taken place in February. Defence Secretary Johnson, General Bradley, and other Pentagon men rushed to confer with MacArthur. According to Marquis Childs, they decided that "A new activist policy was essential," and "ordered to the Far East a detail of American bombers, including the newest and largest types." On June 21, 1950, Dulles said, "Korea does not stand alone . . . My talks with General MacArthur will be followed by positive action."

The news on June 25, 1950, that North Korea had "attacked" the South, came from Syngman Rhee and MacArthur sources. It was followed by an official North Korean

Dulles' International Nickel Company, controlling 85% of the nickel output of the capitalist world, significantly raised the price of nickel by 25% two months before June 25, 1950. A group of Chinese speculators, some living in Formosa, reported the *New York Times*, cornered the soy bean market. They raised the price from \$2.31 to \$3.45 a bushel, clearing \$30 million profits in one operation. "The names of the traders cannot be divulged," coyly remarked the newspaper, "since they are relatives of Madame Chiang Kai-shek." Less publicized has been the fact that the price of rubber jumped 50% between March and May of 1950, and that U.S. rubber imports set a postwar record in the second quarter of 1950. In view of the obvious danger to rubber supplies with war in the Far East, it appears that others, besides Dulles' International Nickel and the soy bean speculators, were in the know.

government announcement branding the South Korean charges as pure fabrication. South Korean troops, it announced, had launched a surprise attack during the night of June 24-25, penetrating one to two miles beyond the 38th Parallel. Captured South Korean soldiers testified that they were alerted for the attack the day before.

Washington immediately branded North Korea as the aggressor and called for an all out "defence against Communist aggression." This charge, however, did not stand up—the lie was too monstrous. That the decayed and crumbling South Korean regime with nothing to lose and everything to gain, might stake all its hopes on a war, was not hard to see. But what could the stable and prosperous North Korean people's government, in the midst of building new cities and industries, gain from a war? To be sure, it did aim for the unification of Korea. But why should it attempt this by force of arms when the Rhee regime was disintegrating and collapsing from within?

The USSR and China, at whose very doorsteps the fire was lighted, asked for an immediate UN Security Council meeting to order a cease-fire and peace negotiations.

But in Washington, 10,000 miles away, an order was issued for immediate U.S. military intervention. In the dark of night, at three A.M., while the nation slept, half a dozen men, including President Truman, were awakened to sign a death sentence upon hundreds of thousands of Koreans, Chinese and Americans. They did not dare to consult Congress or the United Nations, whose Charter (Article 39) excludes intervention in a civil war and requires (Article 27) an affirmative vote of the seven Security Council members for any kind of military action on its part.

Fighting began at dawn on Sunday, June 25. The same afternoon, the Security Council, minus the USSR and China, adopted a resolution declaring North Korea guilty. "Their decision," wrote Sir John Pratt, head of the Far Eastern Section of the British Ministry of Information, "was based on a telegram from the United Nations Commission in Seoul reporting *that there was no evidence* which side began the

fighting. The text of the telegram from Seoul was suppressed." (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

According to the testimony of Generals Marshall and Bradley at the Senate hearings, as reported by the *New York Times* on May 9 and 24, 1951, "the President before his decision to intervene in Korea had not asked the Joint Chiefs of Staff for a formal estimate of the military situation." The war had been decided upon long in advance. The American people, the United Nations and the world were to be confronted with an irrevocable step, a *fait accompli*.

From all this it appears that the MacArthur-Dulles-Wall Street circle was at the core of the plot to which the Truman-Acheson group willingly capitulated. On June 7, 1951, former Senator Tom Connally blurted out, "Dulles was among those who overestimated South Korean strength and was certain that the South Koreans can overcome the North Koreans." "It is said authoritatively," wrote William H. Neblett in *The Nation* on January 3, 1953, "that the strategic bombing theory championed by McNarney and General Hoyt Vandenberg, Chief of the Air Force, who assured President Truman that the Far Eastern Air Force could bomb North Korea off the map in a matter of weeks, greatly influenced Truman's decision to intervene in Korea."

Significantly, neither Dulles nor any of his close associates were called upon to testify during the long Senate hearings of May and June 1951 that followed MacArthur's dismissal. Nor was anything mentioned during these hearings about MacArthur's conversations with Dulles and the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Tokyo conferences just prior to the outbreak of the war.

In view of the known facts and circumstances of the genesis of the Korean war, it is irrelevant whether this or that underling of the Wall Street hierarchy—either in Seoul, Tokyo or Washington—acted as the main go-between in the conspiracy. But it is worse than irrelevant to attribute the crime to any particular individual. Washington's course of action would not have been radically altered had MacArthur

transmitted on a certain occasion a differently-worded report.¹ Such speculations blur the central fact that the Korean war was hatched by the American imperialists as a whole. Nothing can be understood about the origins of the war or its later course without some familiarity with the various currents which drew them into this bloody adventure at that particular time and place.

Motives and Objectives

In the spring of 1950, Wall Street's drive for a shooting war was spurred by a number of factors, quite apart from the vexing problem of how to prevent the impending collapse of the Rhee regime. While the latter pulled them in the *specific* direction of Korea, other factors representing aspects of the general crisis of capitalism propelled them toward a war *in general*.

First, the threat of a major economic crisis was looming. In 1949 and the beginning of 1950, General Electric, du Pont, Westinghouse, General Motors, U.S. Steel, laid off tens of thousands of workers. In New England and other areas, some medium-sized plants shut down altogether. By April and May 1950, replenishment of inventories created a mild upturn, but most U.S. economists and business reviews feared a sharp downturn. The *New York Journal of Commerce* predicted "a coming recession as serious as that of

¹ I. F. Stone makes this error in his informative work, the *Hidden History of the Korean War*. Like many liberals, Mr. Stone still speaks of Washington as a "house divided against itself." However, in the involved imperialist game, the clown is as indispensable as the Machiavellian plotter. Indeed, Truman's breast-beatings, Acheson's "persecution" by the McCarthyites, were as necessary for the execution of the Korean crime as Dulles' secret conferences and Rhee's discoveries of "Communist plots" among his own assemblymen. Their lines often seem puzzling at the time they are spoken, but are well-rehearsed when viewed in retrospect. Evaluating their roles, it comes about that it was a house divided for itself.

1931. Unemployment is getting to be a great threat." On May 15, 1950, it declared, "There is every reason to believe that the administration stands ready with a great big new needle to inject new life in the economy."

Second, after five years of incessant charges, without any concrete evidence, "Soviet aggression" began to have a hollow ring. Something had to be done to stir the people out of their "peace complacency" by confronting them with an actual shooting war.

Third, in the spring of 1950 the world peace movement had launched the Stockholm Petition. With gathering strength, the voices of hundreds of millions were drowning out Wall Street's "inevitable World War III" propaganda. By May 1950, two million Americans had responded to the appeal

Fourth, the programme of fascization and militarization required the creation of a "national emergency"—a kind of Reichstag fire provocation. Without this, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to curb civil rights, persecute and jail Communist and trade union leaders, term the advocacy of peace a crime, and impose higher taxes, prices and other burdens upon the people. The war against Korea was also to serve as a test of how American youth would fight and die in foreign adventures. "The Korean war was a blessing," declared General James A. Van Fleet for the Pentagon. "There had to be a Korea, either here or somewhere else in the world, to put our defence in shape."

Fifth, in the spring of 1950, the MacArthur occupation rule in Japan was becoming more and more unpopular. The May elections in Japan showed a majority hostile to a separate peace pact and the granting of American military bases. Economically, Japan was insolvent. Its business circles looked toward trade with China as the only way to keep going. But a rapprochement between China and Japan would have undermined Wall Street's stranglehold upon the Japanese economy. Through a war in Korea, Washington could tighten control over Japanese industries, enforce a separate

peace pact to perpetuate its military bases there, and attach the Samurais more firmly to its World War III plans.

Sixth, between 1945 and 1950, J. P. Morgan and Company and leading Wall Street firms took over \$1.5 billion worth of shares and bonds from the Japanese Oriental Development Company. Most of these represented titles to the rich North Korean iron, nickel, tungsten, aluminium, gold, lead and graphite mines. (In 1940, North Korea mined more iron ore than Manchuria.) With the consolidation of the North Korean People's Republic, the value of these paper claims sank to zero. *For the Wall Street banks, therefore, the conquest of North Korea would have meant not only a net gain of about \$1.5 billion in capital, but the resumption of the annual 30% dividends formerly paid on these stocks and bonds.*

Seventh, the Atlantic Pact, although functioning, was by no means firmly binding. Its West European signatories squabbled over the armament burdens each was to assume. France and Britain sulked under Washington pressure to convert them into outright military bases. The otherwise supine French quislings mutinied against accepting the Bonn Nazis as equal partners. Washington hoped that the Korean war, plus the threat of abandonment, would lash the West European powers into stricter subordination.

Eighth, the planned aggression against the Soviet Union required not only the emasculation of the United Nations Security Council, but the transformation of the United Nations into a direct instrument of aggression, a branch office of the U.S. State Department, which would sanction U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of any country.

In addition, the launching of the attack against North Korea had several wider objectives: the rapid conquest of the peninsula and its conversion into a powerful war base dominating both Manchuria and the Soviet Far East; the intimidation of Peking by atom-bomb threats into breaking the Sino-Soviet pact of alliance; the unleashing of large-scale war against China, with the aim of crushing the revolution or bleeding it to prevent the consolidation of the New

China; and finally, the possibility of extending the war later on against the Soviet Union itself.

As soon as the war began, and long before the Chinese went to the aid of the North Koreans, the deeds and words of Washington officials clearly revealed that the war was being carried on also against China. On August 24, 1950, U.S. naval forces assumed control over Formosa and the Anemoy, Matsu and Matsuemoy islands directly off the Chinese coast. According to Hanson Baldwin, U.S. reconnaissance planes immediately began "carrying out daily flights over Manchuria to photograph its installations while navy planes from Okinawa and elsewhere patrolled China's coastline as far south as Hong Kong." U.S. planes also started a series of "token" bombings of Manchurian towns and villages.

Despite deletions by the censor, the record of MacArthur's testimony before the special Senate Committee in May 1951 shows that he boasted again and again that provocation for a third World War was inherent in the U.S. decision to go into Korea. (Here and there the record contains such senatorial tongue-slips as: "Some of them may even have induced the Korean war.") Answering Senator Harry Cain's question on whether the Korean war was a preventive one, General Bradley declared: "In a way . . . (five lines deleted) . . . Russia was surprised by the action we took, China is completely tied down and a lot of Russian equipment is being used up." In fact, a considerable portion of the Senate debate revolved around the question of "when we can compel the Soviets to come out and fight."

Debate at the Yalu

"Never before in all our history have we been so nearly prepared at the start of any war as we were at the start of this one. Today, after only a few weeks of war, we have in Korea more men and more arms than we sent to the invasion

of North Africa in November 1942." Such was the report of John Osborn, *Life* correspondent in Korea, on July 15, 1950. The South Korean army, equipped at a cost of \$500 million, was prepared for the attack. The Rhee clique was confident in the superiority of the armaments already in their possession and of unlimited support once they provoked trouble. Months before they had boasted: "We can lick the North Koreans in a matter of days." And rightfully, they should have. For the *New York Times* correspondent, Walter H. Sullivan, observed on July 27, 1950, "The weapons captured from the North Koreans have been a wide assortment, even including some World War I rifles." "Ridgway," relates I. F. Stone, "sneered at the inferiority of their weapons." "The North Koreans were so short of men that some prisoners now being captured had had only four days' training," reported the same newspaper on July 30, 1950. It is obvious from all this that the North Korean army was not prepared for a war of aggression.

Yet, following the North Korean counterattack, the expensively-equipped South Korean army fell to pieces. MacArthur gave immediate transfusions of still-larger quantities of American officers and weapons—but to no avail. Rhee's army simply melted. Some of its troops joined the Northern armies; some changed into civilian clothes and just disappeared. A week after the war started, Sydney Smith, Associated Press correspondent, quoted an American general as saying, "We are all alone; the South Korean army no longer has any troops." Almost the entire South Korean people rose against the Rhee regime, whose members fled aboard American warships. The picture presented a classic example of a decaying regime's overestimation of its strength, as well as the destiny of a war machine not backed by the people.

Washington was chagrined. Its plan had called for Asians to slaughter Asians under the supervision of American generals and the support of the U.S. Air Force; but something had gone wrong. The South Koreans could not be relied upon to defend their "liberties."

Alerted armoured divisions stationed in Japan, reserves of men and arms accumulated at various Pacific bases, were thrown into Korea to crush, not only the North Korean army, but the Korean people as a whole; above all, to exterminate its progressive, anti-fascist forces. Nothing was spared to achieve a quick and decisive victory. On this depended Washington's further plans regarding China, its military prestige, and the loyalty of its diverse and shaky allies whom it sought to impress with its invincible might. MacArthur had promised his backers a "police action" campaign lasting a few months at most. But the relatively small North Korean army, only recently established and without heavy armour or planes, more than held the U.S. forces at bay. It dealt them one crushing defeat after another, finally penning them up in the small area around Pusan. In August 1950 the U.S. forces were about to be pushed into the sea.

This was more than the Pentagon generals had reckoned with. The fate of the U.S. Army, its best troops and reserves, was at stake. Washington issued summonses to its "allies"—Britain, France, Turkey, Greece, etc.—demanding troops, planes and warships. In September, the Pentagon finally rushed a huge armada of battleships, hundreds of cargo ships, thousands of planes, and hundreds of thousands of troops, with the order to clinch an immediate and decisive victory. On September 15, 1950, the combined forces of the interventionists landed at Inchon, 170 miles behind the North Korean lines. The Korean people's army was compelled to withdraw to the North.

MacArthur strode on the ravaged earth of Korea. His arrogant communiques, like Hitler's, spoke of the enemy's total annihilation. Wall Street glorified his military genius. The Joint Chiefs of Staff radioed their unstinted praise of MacArthur's "brilliant and audacious leadership." Truman said, "MacArthur's manoeuvres had been rarely equalled in history. . . . I salute you all and say to all of you from us, 'Well and nobly done.'" Syngman Rhee pinned a citation on MacArthur. Chiang Kai-shek conveyed his "heartfelt

congratulations." And while MacArthur ordered his armies to advance to the Yalu River, the U.N. invited Peking to send representatives to New York to receive the American ultimatum.

Manchuria was to be the next target. U.S. planes had already surveyed China's great industrial base in the north-east, the industrial centres of Fushun, Mukden, Anshan, and Antung. Throughout July, August, September and October of 1950, U.S. planes had been dropping bombs on various Manchurian towns and communication centres, despite repeated protests and warning by Peking. On October 11, 1950, China warned the United States that it could not stand by idly while U.S. troops crossed the 38th Parallel. "The Chinese people," declared Chou En-lai on that date, "prefer a peaceful environment, free of threats, to carry out the rehabilitation and development of their country. The Chinese people firmly advocate a peaceful solution to the Korean problem and are firmly opposed to an extension of the Korean war by America and its accomplice countries." Chou En-lai warned that it would be a blunder for the United States to mistake this desire for weakness.

Washington disregarded Peking's warning and ordered its troops to press forward to the Yalu. MacArthur's generals talked big about "chewing up China's crack troops." But a different reception was awaiting them. On November 26, 1950, Chinese volunteer forces launched an offensive which split and trapped the MacArthur forces. The latter were routed and sent reeling back. Entire divisions fled and left their armour behind them. The Turkish brigade, originally numbering about 8,000 troops, "was destroyed as a fighting unit," reported the *London Times*. So were many other units of the interventionist armies. Despite heavy censorship, all battlefield reports spoke of a staggering military disaster, of an incredible catastrophe Korea had become a death trap.

Washington's policymakers were seized with gloom, apprehension and dismay. Their theories about "Orientals"

and "inferior races," their illusion of American super-might and invincibility, lay shattered.

Officials and diplomats of the White House, Pentagon and State Department "were nervous and jumpy," reported the *Wall Street Journal*. "One diplomat was just saying to himself, 'it's going to be war, it's going to be war'; another was saying quietly under his breath, 'we ought to bomb them, we ought to bomb them—right in Manchuria, we ought to bomb them'; another said worriedly, 'we should better watch Europe too; the Lord knows what might happen while we are tied up in Korea.'"

Yesterday's bold warriors began to whine and whimper. They complained about "China's inviolable sanctuary" in Manchuria (as though their war had not been carried on from half a dozen "sanctuaries" besides Okinawa and Japan). The generals moaned about the "unfair," "tricky," and "unorthodox" tactics employed by the Chinese and Koreans—a type of warfare not covered in their textbooks. Such Wall Street organs as the *Herald Tribune*, which the day before had jeered at Peking's warnings, complained now: "The Chinese Communists have launched a fresh and powerful offensive, just as we were trying to effect a peace settlement in Korea." By a "peace settlement," it meant MacArthur's ultimatum to the North Koreans to surrender.

Meanwhile, Pentagon spokesmen (like Hitler after Mozhaik and Novokolamsk) discovered various alibis for the defeat: "MacArthur's troops fell into a trap. . . . Koreans and Chinese are seized with a savage fanaticism; they fight under the influence of narcotics. . . . They were aided by unfavourable weather and by General Frost," etc. To bolster shattered home and troop morale, MacArthur headquarters urged "optimistic thinking." Their communiques claimed astronomical Chinese-Korean losses and a "deterioration of their will to fight." "It sure makes our boys mad when the commies won't fight. . . . Those three villages looked pretty cold, and we warmed them up with a bit of napalm," Tokyo jauntily cabled.

The late General Soule officially declared, "We have hurt

his best troops and behind them is the riff-raff. The Chinese cannot maintain supply lines, their commanders don't understand modern warfare. They have few planes, little artillery and they don't know how to use them. . . . They are sick of Communism in China already. We can lick them, we can defeat them." However, a few days later, on February 11, 1951, a Chinese-Korean counterattack once more cracked the lines of the interventionists.

To restore undermined American military prestige, U.S. warships paid visits to foreign ports and late-model jet planes were sent roaring over foreign cities in exhibitions of military might. Dulles flew to Tokyo to draw up new arms plans with the Mitsubishi, and then to London in an attempt to pressure the British into breaking relations with China. To bolster its sagging allies, Washington issued declarations that "we shall protect Western Christendom while holding to our positions in Asia."

The defeat created sharp divisions on questions of tactics, personalities and command. Those who were united in October when victory seemed close, fell out in December. They accused each other of bad faith, stupidity and blunders. Some blamed Acheson, others, MacArthur, and still others, Roosevelt and the "mistake" of having helped to smash fascist Germany and Japan. Others clamoured for action in Indo-China, Burma, Pakistan and Western Europe. "American blood is too precious to be spilled in Korea; find a more suitable place," senators exhorted the generals. In the Pentagon, four-star generals and second lieutenants were busy drawing new blueprints. Numerous schools of tactics arose, each claiming to have a sure formula for victory—the sea power school and the air power school; the Chiang, the MacArthur and the Eisenhower schools; the atom-bomb school; the arm-the-German-fascists-first school, and the arm-the-Japanese-fascists-first school.

Despair and confusion spread through the country. Home morale, never high in relation to the war in Korea, sank to its lowest point, demonstrating once again that support for a war of aggression falls apart after reverses, even

among misled millions. Many perceived the mad overestimation of U.S. power in relation to its global strategy. Some got an inkling of what a real crisis would look like should the country follow the reckless World War III advocates.

MacArthur had only tangled with a few divisions of Chinese volunteers, but behind them stood the battle-hardened divisions of a nation of 475 million. People began to recognize the criminality of slaughtering American youngsters under the pretext of defending the United States in Asia. Many Americans also saw the illegality of Washington's intervention. There was no declaration of war, no public or congressional consultation. The "U.N. police action" fiction was too obvious, for the U.N. was not consulted until intervention was an accomplished fact. A rising tide of peace sentiment swelled throughout the country.

For a while, even some of the reactionaries seemed to be sobered by the stunning defeat in Korea. To play safe, some politicians quickly abandoned the MacArthur war bandwagon. "Our first mistake was going into Korea and the second was crossing the 38th Parallel," declared Byrd and others. Lippmann wrote: "Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson have lost control of the war and its strategy. . . . We are on the verge of being swept into panic. . . . Our people feel it intolerable that American soldiers should be suffering in a war which can no longer be won." Sensing the mounting people's disgust and hatred of the war, he warned, "The government is no more acting by civil power or support of the people, but by generals." For a moment it seemed as though some sections of the American ruling class had come to their senses.

But the drive to world domination apparently precluded sane, rational estimates of the total situation. Lippmann urged the United States to retreat from Korea, warning that "It would be strategic lunacy to commit our main forces of the Atlantic community and of Western Christendom until the Kremlin commits its main forces." What this wistful "general" of Christendom forgot, however, was that Hitler's generals, too, were reproached

for trying to hold territory when retreat was necessary. The Pentagon men, too, felt unable to disengage themselves. Unable to win the little war in Korea, they tried to drive onward—to stake all or nothing on a bigger war.

U. N. Votes and Atom-Bomb Blackmail

In November 1950, MacArthur's armies advanced to the Chinese border with an army of half a million, mass-bombing towns and villages and glorying in this feat. Washington replied to China's stern warnings by bombing Manchurian towns and villages. "Chinese troops," wrote *Le Monde*, in an editorial on January 31, 1951, "entered Korea only after solemn warnings by Chou En-lai, after the crossing of the 38th Parallel by U.S. troops and when the latter, in approaching Manchuria's border, were about to take under their control the dams and hydroelectric installations supplying Manchuria with light and power. . . . Moreover, after their first blow to MacArthur's troops, the Chinese volunteers did not pursue them, but withdrew." The *London New Statesman and Nation* wrote on December 2, 1950, "Every experienced diplomat and journalist in Europe knew that the Chinese were only following normal procedure in mobilizing to protect their frontier as MacArthur advanced."

China had dared to push MacArthur's forces away from its borders. Caged in the Korean peninsula, the imperialists flung themselves against the rocky walls of the people's armies and foamed: "This animal is very vicious; when attacked, it defends itself!" Washington soon regained its old composure and flourished the torch of war more vigorously than ever. The bomb! Get the bomb! its spokesmen cried. Bomb Moscow and get it over with! cried one set of monopoly spokesmen. Bomb Peking and Mukden and declare China an aggressor! screamed the other. The "war now" group, the Luce and Morgan publications, clamoured for an all-out third World War. A Senate chorus, with

Russell, Brewster, Bridges, Knowland, Ferguson, Martin and Cain as leaders, shouted: "If we threw the atom bomb on Japan with favourable results, why should we not do the same with China and Russia?"

On January 18, 1951, U.S. government spokesmen came before the U.N. to brand China as aggressor. MacArthur, they argued, had merely come to the Yalu "as head of a police force to patrol China's frontier," and the harsh reception he got from the Chinese "must not go unpunished."

Six months earlier, on June 26, 1950, the United States had already demonstrated that it could utilize the U.N. as an instrument for aggression. The U.N. had stigmatized North Korea as an aggressor on the word of Rhee and the assertion of a U.N. commission composed of representatives of Turkey, Chiang Kai-shek, and El Salvador. It had sanctioned U.S. intervention despite the fact that the U.N. Charter contains no provision for intervening in a civil war. The decision was made without consulting China and the Soviet Union, two leading world powers. Under American pressure, the U.N. refused to hear the representatives of North Korea; later, of China. It rejected numerous Soviet proposals that the Security Council mediate to halt the fighting.

The United Nations also ignored the repeated appeals of the World Peace Council, speaking in the name of 600 million signatories. But it allowed a Chiang stooge to use its forum for presenting such resolutions as condemning the Soviet Union for failing to support the Chiang regime in 1945. It lent its flag to MacArthur as a cloak for aggression. But the so-called commander of the United Nations forces himself admitted that he had not communicated with the U.N. even once, and that "My connections with it were purely nominal." The U.N. was turned into a more abject imperialist tool than even the League of Nations had been.*

* On November 7, 1953 Demaree Bess reported in the *Saturday Evening Post*: "During the summer of 1952, when I visited so-called United Nations headquarters in Tokyo and Korea many times, I never saw one staff officer who was not American."

On December 16, 1950, China attempted, through its delegate, W. H. Tschuan, to present to the U.N. evidence proving U.S. violation of Chinese territory. Peking's documented record showed that between August 27 and November 24, 1950, over one thousand U.S. aircraft had violated the Chinese border 200 times. Some of these bombed villages, killing many of their inhabitants. All this in addition to U.S. naval operations off the Chinese coastline, its occupation of Formosa, and its military support of Chiang. "Which Chinese planes bombed American cities?" asked Tschuan. "Can you deny the incontestable evidence of U.S. aggression against my country?" He cautioned the United Nations not to disregard the voice of 500 million people. He warned that "no threats and no dirty dollar bribes would buy China." But in vain. The Dulles-Morgan consortium remained adamant.

It had decided that China, one and a half times the size of the United States, with ten times the population of France or Britain, must not have a voice in decisions affecting its own affairs. It would have interfered with their plans for Japan, whose "peace pact" Dulles was in the midst of drafting. In an attempt to cover this sordid spectacle, the *New York Times* spoke up for the State Department: "The Peiping regime represents a new State and since the new State cannot be said to be actually in control of China . . . there is no reason for indecent haste to bury the old and hail the new."

Once more the rigged votes of U.S.-dominated Latin American republics spoke for the "majority" in the United Nations. Among them were such "independent states" as El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Cuba, Venezuela, Haiti and Paraguay, whose total population does not equal that of one province of China. Their votes defeated the resolutions of the USSR and India, which, together with China and the other Asian and Arab nations, represented some three-fifths of mankind. (Of all the Asian nations, only Siam and the Philippines voted for the U.S. resolution.)

James Reston, a frequent State Department spokesman, unceremoniously admitted that the U.N. had become a Washington branch office. "Some U.N. members would like to say to the United States that it has been unwise, contradictory and hypocritical in the handling of the Chinese Communists," he frankly noted, "but they cannot say so. . . . They are all dependent on the U.S." "Thank God," exclaimed Austin, after pressure and blackmail had turned the cynical farce into a U.N. document. "Now, after the adoption of the resolution," wrote the *New York Times*, "there is no chance for the risk of an ultimate settlement"! Wall Street got its legal U.N. cover for extending the war whenever it thought it suitable.

The U.N. resolution condemning China as an aggressor was in effect a U.S. war declaration against the Chinese Republic. It also redefined the term aggression to encompass wars of liberation or defence against aggression. (It also clarified more fully Wall Street's concept of the USSR as an "aggressor." For neither Krupp nor Dulles, nor the masters of Cuba ever sanctioned the Red Army's smashing of Hitler's Wehrmacht.) Armed with the U.N. document branding China an aggressor, Truman, in a speech at Pocatello on May 10, 1950, boasted of his order to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and declared: "I did it. And I would say to you that I would do it again if I had to." The military were ordered to start a series of atomic bomb explosions in Nevada. "A thrill of hope went around the world as a result of the atomic test. . . . Take courage, America is arming," Governor Dewey told Wall Street's scared transatlantic partners. The Voice of America beamed the atomic blasts with the announcement that "doors and windows shook and rattled miles away from the site of the explosions." But neither Moscow nor Peking became terrified; it was London and Paris and the people of the United States who were thrown into jitters.

The Chinese people had stood up and conquered the Japanese brigands and the superior weapons of Chiang Kai-shek. They had learned that weapons are not omnipotent.

They had clashed with the American war machine and referred to the American military as "paper tigers." Yesterday's weak and oppressed nation could no longer be intimidated. It was no longer alone.

"Who ought to be more scared of the bomb," asked the Chinese, "the Soviet Union and China with their vast populations dispersed over tremendous territories, or New York, Washington and London? . . . The days of imperialist bullying are gone. . . . American military forces cannot be tolerated on China's frontiers, just as Chinese forces would not at America's borders. . . . They must get out and stay out of the Far East." Such was the thundering, historic reply of Asia's young giant to the atom-bomb blackmailers

The world peace movement rose with an avalanche of protests. French, Italian, Belgian and British trade unions warned their governments against associating themselves with Washington's bomb-China, third-world-war maniacs. "Americans, get out of Korea!" rang throughout Europe and Asia. The gulf separating the people and the leaders in the Marshallized countries widened. The harder the MacArthur camp pressed for extending the war to China, the more panicky became the West European ruling circles. North Atlantic pact rifts widened. Washington was becoming more isolated. The telling blow it sustained in Korea could no more be concealed. It shook the imperialist camp the world over.

As far back as January 10, 1951, MacArthur conceded in a private note to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that North Korea could not be conquered. The vociferous demands of the Asia First group to bomb China served the Truman administration as a trial balloon to test how far the American people and the Western allies were willing to go. For at no time until the spring of 1951, and this point deserves special emphasis, did the Truman-Acheson group differ with the MacArthur wing on any basic war objectives in Korea. As long as victory seemed certain, their views diverged perhaps on the question of whether to camp for a month or two on the Yalu River or to proceed straight into Man-

churia. According to the London *Economist*, Acheson was still trying to sell Attlee the MacArthur programme in December 1950. According to MacArthur's later testimony to the Senate Committee, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended on January 12, 1951, that the war in Korea be extended to a war against China. The general, wrote Arthur Krock of the *New York Times*, substantiated his statement with documentary evidence.

MacArthur Chooses to Depart

Meanwhile, the winter offensive of 1950-51 got nowhere near MacArthur's empty claims to victory. The indecisive war was becoming decisive as far as casualties were concerned. To most Americans the growing toll of dead, wounded and missing represented an unjustifiable Washington crime. In polls and other ways, a majority of them expressed their opposition to continuing the war. Numerous church and people's mass organizations, as well as some trade unions, condemned the slaughter in Korea.

The military debacle, as well as the temper of the people of the U.S. and of Europe, aroused some second thoughts among senators and congressmen. The Truman-Acheson wing began to vacillate over its original bipartisan agreements with the MacArthur group. In a personal message, Truman notified MacArthur that "the Korean campaign should be so conducted as to gain time for an anti-communist build-up and to preserve the allies the United States would desperately need in the event of war with Russia." "We are losing our best troops. We must save the corps of trained personnel to prepare much larger armies," warned some generals. The Chiefs of Staff suddenly changed their tune, implying that "enlargement of the war in Korea was contrary to our conviction because it would jeopardize world peace." "We are intent on preventing World War III," declared Omar Bradley.

These unheard-of heresies, although intended to allay the people's fears temporarily, jolted the MacArthurites, who regarded the stalemate in Korea as the best opportunity for provoking war against the Soviet Union.* And as the Truman-Acheson "war later" group backed out on the project of mass-bombing China, the MacArthur "war now" desperadoes shrieked "treason and betrayal."

To force the issue, they decided to embarrass the Truman-Acheson group by prematurely divulging what had been agreed upon in advance, at the start of the Korean campaign. And "it was for saying out loud what Truman and Acheson preferred to be silent about that MacArthur was relieved of his command," declared the *New York Times*. "It was not his ideas, but the manner of advancing them; not what he did, but what he said," wrote the *Wall Street Journal*.

And what MacArthur and his supporters said in effect was that "Truman and Acheson are liars," when they allege that the war against Korea was for the purpose of repelling aggression. The objective from the start was the overthrow of China's government. MacArthur knew they would not dare deny it. The two trunks of documents he took along with him from Tokyo, which contained the State Department and Pentagon communications and orders, were more than enough to prove his point.

There is considerable evidence that MacArthur and the "war now" group forced his dismissal in order to attain their ends by other means. "There is some belief that MacArthur, rather than being a victim of a situation, created the situation," hinted the *New York Times*. He wanted to prove that the Truman administration was incompetent either "to attain peace or fight a war."

His adherents hoped to capitalize on his inglorious departure by building up mass sympathy for the "innocent martyr" and Truman scapegoat. Hoover, Dulles and the entire Wall Street "war now" crowd arranged a "triumphal ticker-tape" reception for MacArthur. After his speech be-

* See section on *The Great Debate, War Now or Later*, Chapter X.

fore a joint session of Congress, Dewey Short (Rep. Mo.) declared, "We heard God speak here in the flesh, the voice of God." Congressmen wept. An attempt was made to whip up popular bewilderment over his dismissal into a fascist, war-now hysteria, to glorify MacArthur as America's divinely-appointed "Fuehrer." But after the staged New York reception, the people lost interest in him. Half-empty halls greeted him in most other cities. The vast majority of Americans rejected his call to adopt his fascist "cross and the flag" as their country's symbol.

Split and Compromise

The gigantic fraud perpetrated upon the American people was not yet nearing its end. But the growing dilemmas and contradictions sharpened dissensions. MacArthurites flooded senators and congressmen with a stream of messages: "Impeach the b—— for selling out the country by firing MacArthur. . . . Impeach the imbecile who calls himself President. . . . Impeach the Judas who sold us down the river. . . . A great American has been crucified while Stalin's stock zooms. . . . For heaven's sake, get this man out of the White House before he bungles us into oblivion." Taft and others excoriated Truman as an "idiotic little man without power of judgment who committed American troops to die in foreign lands." However, a great many others still sang hosannahs to "the idiotic little man." The "great debate" had begun.

It started in January 1951 with a series of speeches by ex-president Herbert Hoover, Taft and others, in which they subjected the Truman-Acheson foreign policy to scathing criticism, exposing its fallacies and failures. It continued in the Senate debate that followed MacArthur's dismissal. This became the most celebrated hearing in contemporary American history, lasting from May 3 to June 27, 1951. MacArthur testified for three days, Acheson for

eight; Defence Secretary Marshall, General Bradley and other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were on the stand for weeks. The debate revolved around the Korean debacle and changes in overall military strategy. It also centred on when and how a war against the USSR could be ignited. (The concepts advanced during the debate will be discussed in Chapter X.) On the question of what to do about Korea, the MacArthur-Hoover-Taft, or Asia First group, pointed to the bankruptcy of the arm-Western-Europe, ground-war plan. They advocated a "go it alone" atomic air war against China with the "calculated risk" of provoking a third World War. The Truman-Acheson wing pointed to the still inadequate Air Force, counselled patience, and insisted that the continued arming of the West European allies was still necessary.

Following the debate, the two haggling camps reached what seemed to be a compromise agreement. The press summarized the compromise as follows: "The chief enemy, it was agreed, was the Soviet Union and world communism and both have to be fought on a global basis." Since withdrawal means collapse, "the principle of no retreat anywhere was upheld as basically sound." The plan was to conduct limited wars but "wait for the big showdown until we are better prepared." Or, as the editors of the *New York Herald Tribune* put it, for the time being "to secure a stalemate in Asia while the European defences are rebuilt. Under such a policy . . . we could readily bomb beyond the Yalu." In short, start the big war in the Far East when Europe, too, is ready for it.

Above all, the compromise plan decreed more furious war preparations. Washington launched its super-armament drive. Charles E. Wilson laconically defined this programme: "Orders will be placed at the rate of one billion a week or more."

New contingents of American troops were dispatched to France and Western Germany. Congress appropriated four billion dollars for secret air bases "within easy striking distance of the Soviet Union." It also allocated \$100 million

to intensify diversions, sabotage, and wrecking activities in East Berlin, the German Democratic Republic, and the People's Democracies—the so-called “Project X.”

At the White House Truman solemnly assured visiting Rumanian White Guardists and fascists: “If I can continue the programme which I have inaugurated,” he said, “you will be back in power in Bucharest before you pass on to the next world.”

In the spring of 1951, Attlee, then Auriol, were hastily summoned to Washington. They were assured that for the time being their countries would not be plunged into a third World War, and that they would receive advance notice whenever the decision to bomb China was reached. Provided, of course, they submitted to the Pentagon's ukase for the immediate restoration of the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe and for a speedy expansion of their armed forces under Eisenhower's command. On April 3, 1951, Auriol appeared before a joint session of Congress to make his pledge. He chirped, “One for all and all for one, we stand for truth and fraternity”—provided France gets more dollars and bombs for our common cause in Viet Nam. “We still have reliable allies,” rejoiced Administration leaders. But the so-called isolationists remained unimpressed. Will your millions of Communists and peace fighters march with our Bonn SS divisions against Moscow? they snickeringly asked their French puppet. And what about your army in Korea? they bellowed at crestfallen Attlees.

Hard pressed for more skilled warriors, Washington ransacked the Nazi debris. Carolus reported in *The Nation*, “Swelling out his chest, a German manufacturer declared, ‘They need us. They need us badly. If they had listened to Hitler they would not be in that mess in Korea. It serves them right, and now they want us to pick their chestnuts out of the fire.’” In February 1951, McCloy released the remaining Nazi war criminals. Eisenhower was dispatched to welcome them and ask forgiveness. While depositing wreaths on the graves of the American war dead, Eisenhower said, “Each of us must do his part. . . . Our children

will inherit more than can be expressed in millions." A few days later the Bonn government transmitted to the Chase National Bank its first "Eisenhower heritage"—a \$20 million interest and principal instalment on the loans Wall Street had advanced to Hitler.

Eisenhower was presented as the Pied Piper whom all the rats of Europe would blindly follow. On his return in May 1951 he made a jauntily optimistic report to Congress. "In Rome," he said, "there is a stiffening resolve to meet the issue face on," and in Portugal, Norway and Denmark as well. "Little Luxemburg," he continued, "with only 300,000 people ... set their jaws and said, 'we will have universal military service. We need artillery and equipment' ... and as I continued my tour, I came to Ottawa, and the Canadians said, 'Why, we have some artillery. We can ship it to them.' What I am trying to say is that it is these little incidents that convince me we have a rejuvenation of spirit."

Top-ranking West-German officers were rushed to the United States for consultation and training. In Munich, American and German historians met in a conference "to erase the errors of history books." McCloy signalled the Bonn government to declare that it would never recognize the frontiers of Poland. In Frankfurt, representatives of I. G. Farben, of West German potash, steel and chemical trusts, the Schnitzlers, Absts, and Pferdemeniges, met in secret conclaves with the men of du Pont, Ford, Rockefeller, Mellon and Imperial Chemicals to apportion the amount of dynamite for their projected new blood bath.

The compromise between the "war now" and "war later" camps also involved a tacit agreement to keep the Korean war going. Searching for a new war ideal, they rechristened their Korean "freedom" crusade "Operation Killer." "Our objectives in Korea are homicidal rather than geographic," boasted the *Herald Tribune*, "to destroy the Red forces by the cool determined use of fire power." "It is not territory that we are out for," declared the Pentagon leaders, "but to kill as many of the enemy as possible," be-

lieving, apparently, that meanwhile the Korean and Chinese soldiers would be playing mah-jong. "Operation Killer" backfired. Korea became a cauldron for the American troops. Their fighting morale dropped still further. The people's disgust with the war mounted.

Peace and Panic

North Korea, China and the Soviet Union, at times supported by India and other Asian nations, had pleaded for a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement of the conflict right from the very beginning. In July 1950, the Soviet Union appealed to the United Nations to convene the Security Council to arbitrate between the two sides in the civil war and negotiate an immediate end to hostilities. On July 13, 1950, Stalin and Nehru joined in an exchange of statements for the purpose of establishing peace in Korea. In welcoming Nehru's initiative, Stalin declared, "I fully share your point of view as regards the expediency of a peaceful regulation of the Korean question through the Security Council with the obligatory participation of the representatives of the five great powers, including the People's Government of China." Later on, Gromyko, Vishinsky and Malik, on twenty-three different occasions, proposed to the United States, Britain and the United Nations to end the bloodshed in Korea. Washington contemptuously rejected each of the Soviet and Chinese peace proposals. It also torpedoed an Asian-Arab resolution calling on the U.N. to convene a seven-power Asian conference to order an immediate cease-fire and armistice.

On July 18, 1950, Acheson replied to Nehru, "I know that you will agree that the decision (to convene the Security Council with the participation of China for the purpose of ending the war) should not be dictated by an unlawful aggression or by any other conduct which would subject the U.N. to coercion or duress." *Thus, five months before China*

had extended aid to North Korea, its mere participation in a U.N. discussion to end the war equalled, according to the Wall Street formula, "duress and aggression." The U.S. continuation of the massacre, on the other hand, equalled "aspirations for peace."

During the entire period of the war, the United States did not put forward a single peace offer. In the House of Representatives, only the courageous voice of Congressman Vito Marcantonio spoke out for peace. In the Senate, the only suggestion to halt the Korean war and reach a settlement came from former Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado. It was prominently featured in *Pravda*, but the Wall Street press buried it in a few lines on the back pages.

On June 24, 1951, Jacob Malik, the Soviet representative to the U.N., again proposed a cease-fire and truce negotiations in Korea. His call for an immediate armistice was broadcast to the entire world. No longer able to promise victory in Korea either to its allies or to the American people, Washington, this time, was compelled at least to take note of the Soviet peace challenge.

The majority of the American people, like the American troops in Korea, eagerly anticipated an armistice in Korea. After a year of futile sacrifices, they realized that nothing was more reasonable than to halt further bloodshed by arranging for an immediate cease-fire *simultaneously* with the beginning of peace negotiations.

Common sense military considerations also pulled in the direction of ending the war or establishing at least a temporary armistice. This would have offered the U.S. military a chance to extricate themselves from a hopeless adventure. Earlier, Stalin had warned that "The American forces can never hope to win in Korea"; that "if they continue their aggression, they will ultimately be annihilated there." China warned that the battle in Korea was just beginning and the United States would bog down in an interminable war as Japan had done. Andrei Gromyko declared that, "there will not be enough room in Korea for

the white crosses over the graves of the interventionists if the fighting does not come to an end."

It is reasonable to suppose that some Washington politicians considered it expedient to end the Korean war in the summer of 1951. But the decisive Wall Street oligarchy did not—and for the same reasons it had started the war. The year 1950 had opened with the fear of an economic crisis, but at its close, as American bombers were reducing Korean towns and villages to rubble, the men of the trusts were happy and confident. The war in Korea had paid off. From Wall Street's adding machines flowed a deluge of fabulous profit reports. The Stock Exchange price index rose from 105 in June 1949 to 175 in February 1951. All the atom bomb, bullet, napalm, tank, gun and airplane corporations doubled and trebled their profits. Savage Arms Corporation, in the first three months of 1951, showed profits 30 times higher than in the corresponding period in 1949.* American Zinc, Lead and Smelting reported \$5.67 profit per share in 1950 as compared to 31 cents in 1949. Union Carbide sales in 1950 jumped \$100 million; du Pont reaped \$307 million net profits (\$100 million above 1949), Standard Oil, \$408 million (\$132 million above 1939), General Motors, \$834 million (\$300 million above 1949).

In the first quarter of 1951, profits of American Smelting and Refining rose 205% above 1950; Reynolds Metals, 191%; U.S. Rubber, 131%; Standard Oil, 81%. Total corporation profits rose from \$27 billion in 1949 to \$42 billion in 1950. Net corporate profits after taxes were \$22 billion, or double those of 1944, a war year. In 1951 they rose still higher. Merck and Company, in the first six months of 1951, showed \$7,200,000 profit instead of the \$3,900,000 of the previous year. Thus, from each soldier whose flesh was ripped in Korea, the U.S. drug monopolies, too, got their rake-off.

Korean blood also revived the armament trusts in the other capitalist countries. Profits of the Anglo-American Rio Tinto mine enterprises in Spain rose to a million pounds

* All figures given in round numbers.

in 1951 as compared with £ 228,000 in 1950. Profits of the Manufacturas Metallurgicas Madrelinas, a branch of the Mellon aluminium trust, rose by 900%. Shares of the Ruhr Kloeckner Werke, quoted at 66 in December 1950, climbed to 230 in 1951. I. G. Farben stock doubled in value. Japanese bonds, held by Wall Street finance groups, climbed from 56 before the Korean war to 94 after it broke out. The *Zurich Kredit Anstalt Bulletin* wrote: "There is an abundance of contracts. . . . The Ruhr is producing armaments again," and "this helps our exports. Shares on the Bourse reached their highest point in 20 years."

The various raw material monopolies also reaped enormous profits. Moody's Commodity Index, which stood at 347 in January 1950 (1931 = 100), rose to 503 in December of that year. Rubber rose from 18 cents a pound to 74 cents; zinc from 74 cents to \$1.37, and cotton from 30 to 44 cents. The Franco crowd trebled the price of its mercury. Wool shot up from \$1.59 a pound to \$4; tin from £ 200 to £900 a ton. Reserves of Imperial Chemicals jumped in that year from £ 44 million to £ 152 million (in round numbers). Baco Consolidated Rubber and Cambling Rubber and Tin trebled their profits. Malayan tin mines paid 100% dividends. "The Korean war has bounced a number of local dealers here into the millionaire class," reported the *London Times* from Malaya. In 1950 British dollar earnings from Malaya rose to \$305 million as against \$132 million in 1949. "Further armament orders," added the *London Bankers' Magazine*, "will bring still greater gains to stock values."

"The Korean affair has given business a shot in the arm," Roger Babson, Wall Street economist stated. "The Korean enterprise," wrote the *New York Times*, "revived the economy." "The Korean outbreak chased the ghost of the depression that has been haunting business in the U.S. since the end of World War II," wrote *U.S. News & World Report*. Rufus Tucker, General Motors' top economist, told the National Industrial Conference Board in January 1951 that "with postwar consumers' demand for durable goods

saturated, by the spring of 1950 we would have been in for a rough time if it had not been for the Korean war."

The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized: "The U.S. is to demand more in Korean talks than we can expect the Communists ever to concede." Michael L. Hoffman commented: "Unless Japanese exports are increased at least three-fold, Japan cannot survive at all if and when the Korean war and the resultant U.S. military outlays in Japan end." Moreover, Wall Street firms holding Japanese bonds were to receive \$700 in back interest for every thousand dollars in face value of such bonds. "*The servicing of this debt,*" remarked *U.S. News & World Report* on December 12, 1952, "*depends on a continuation of the Korean war.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

Big Business, holding billions of dollars of war contracts and drooling for more, was terrified at the prospect of a Korean peace. No sooner did Malik finish reading the text of the peace proposal than Wall Street was thrown into panic. On the stock and commodity exchanges the fortunes of the trust and armament kings were seized with convulsions. Headlines in the finance section read: "Stocks toboggan to their lowest levels; \$1,700,000,000 wiped out by Soviet peace proposal. . . . Gold prices in Paris suffer sharpest drop on Malik peace proposal." The Wall Street press wailed: "A new squall of selling cuts \$1 billion from value of shares as Russian peace rumours hit market." Commodity prices dropped precipitously. "Russian peace proposals plunge London markets into twilight." "The biggest economic danger faced by America is the danger of a sudden turn to peace," warned *U.S. News & World Report*. What, indeed, were 100,000 more or less American dead and wounded if U.S. Steel rose to 65?

The "Peace through War" Formula

Washington extended a notch further its formula of war under the guise of peace. In order to demonstrate to

the soldiers, their worried families and the American people as a whole, that it, too, was peace-minded, Washington finally agreed to open armistice negotiations at Kaesong and then at Panmunjom. But its generals immediately revealed that their true purpose was to carry on the war under cover of truce negotiations. Employing terms reminiscent of the Nazi generals in justifying the slaughter of the Spanish people in 1936, the Pentagon men spoke of Korea as a "testing ground for the most effective use of force and armaments." "Before and while we negotiate," they declared to the angry and bewildered soldiers, "we must kill some more." "The object in Korea is to inflict maximum casualties ... so we can get some kind of a negotiation," declared Bradley. "Operation Killer" at the front, plus peace phrases in the U.N., such was Washington's formula.

Peace negotiations started on July 10, 1951. They were broken off by Ridgway on August 5 on the ground that a North Korean infantry company was seen marching 300 feet from the house in which the truce talks were held. He called it a flagrant violation of the agreement. The North Korean representative promised to rectify the mistake and asked Ridgway to send his negotiators back to Kaesong and not to break off talks because of minor matters. Although the North Korean and Chinese delegates first insisted on the 38th Parallel as the truce line, they agreed to the U.S. demand that "the cease-fire line be drawn where the battle line now stands." On August 18, 1951, the press reported, "a friendly atmosphere prevails among the negotiating teams," and "an actual armistice may be in sight." The next day a band of armed men were dispatched into the Kaesong neutral zone where they ambushed a North Korean military police platoon and killed its commander. Ridgway simultaneously launched one of the most devastating artillery bombardments of the war.

On August 20, North Korean truce team jeeps, on their way to the talks, were shot at by a U.S. Air Force plane. On August 22, United States planes bombed the Kaesong

neutral zone. (The U.S. command did not deny these attacks.) On October 11, negotiations were resumed; on October 12, U.S. planes again strafed the neutral zone, killing one child and wounding another. (Ridgway admitted this on October 15.) On October 25, another U.S. plane bombed the neutral zone. U.S. troops in Korea resented this sabotage of armistice negotiations. "Recent developments," reported George Barrett, *New York Times* correspondent, "have convinced some troops that their own commanders, for reasons unknown to the troops, are throwing up blocks against an agreement." James Reston of that newspaper admitted: "Officials here in Washington conceded that it might look to the world as if the United States was purposefully trying to avoid a cease-fire in Korea."

Undaunted, the Chinese and North Korean delegates kept on pressing for the continuation of peace negotiations. Because of repeated American violations, the truce zone was transferred to Panmunjom. But there, too, U.S. shells and bomb somehow kept on landing "by mistake." Nevertheless, by the end of January 1952, agreement had been reached on all outstanding and formerly disputed points. Nothing except setting the date for a cease-fire and armistice remained on the agenda.

At this point Washington discovered a new tactic for creating a deadlock. It insisted on blocking the repatriation of first "100,000" and then "46,000" Chinese and Korean war prisoners. But according to I. F. Stone, "The Pentagon's figures showed that we (the U.S.) held 17,382 Chinese prisoners of war when the truce talks began. This had risen to 20,678 by the end of the year 1951 when the voluntary repatriation issue was raised. The current figure (available only in the round number) is 21,000. This does not support the picture of mass defections encouraged by the offer of asylum."

The Prisoner of War Treaty, signed at Geneva in 1949 by the United States and other governments, and adopted by the United Nations, states that "prisoners of war shall

be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of hostilities." Washington not only broke its pledge under that agreement, but manufactured a prisoner-of-war issue where none existed. This was done by the so-called "screening process" which, as shown later, resulted in the murder of hundreds of POWs.

The entire world was shocked at the cynicism of Washington's policymakers, who, after sowing wholesale death and destruction, rejected an armistice by claiming moral scruples about the handing over of prisoners of war who had ostensibly refused repatriation. Even such conservative newspapers as the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* declared: "The U.S. is not on firm ground in its stand on the prisoners. First, it is a violation of the Geneva Prisoner of War Treaty of 1949, to which we are a party. Second, it stands to reason that if the role were reversed and a theoretical enemy refused to return all American prisoners, we would make a terrible fuss, and rightly."

Washington continued to sabotage the peace negotiations. It piled up another 75,000 casualties to gain a few hills, only to lose them again a few months later.

The American imperialists were confronted with a dilemma. They could not go forward and they could not retreat. But neither could they stay in one place without serious "loss of face" and growing mass opposition to the useless slaughter. They seemed to be caught in a giant clamp. "It's a trap," warned Wall Street's spokesman, David Lawrence. "Truman and Acheson are entrapped; they cannot turn down the cease-fire proposed by the Russians without being accused of unduly prolonging the war ... but there has been no victory over the Communist forces ... and how can Red China and North Korea accept through diplomatic debate a punishment that could not be imposed by military means?"

Washington wanted to get off the hook by some sort of localized truce whereby it could more effectively implement a policy of setting "Asians to kill Asians" while the U.S.-

Chiang air force chose its targets in China. It wanted an agreement whereby it could pull out most of its ground forces, keep the Far Eastern war fuse smouldering at a smaller cost and fewer commitments, and set its war timetable for action elsewhere. But the heroic Chinese and Korean peoples, defending both their homelands and world peace, would not be deceived. They insisted upon a peace settlement that would diminish or abolish the war danger, not heighten it. "You must negotiate with us as equals and reach a settlement on the basis of equality," General Nam Il told the Washington representatives on October 10, 1952, at Panmunjom. "There were times in the past," he declared, "when you could subjugate an Oriental kingdom simply by posting gunboats off its coast. You should be aware that such times are gone, and gone forever."

But this Washington would not concede. Peace in Korea could not be separated from peace with China and the smothering of an already-ignited World War III fuse. "Withdrawal from Korea," warned General Marshall on May 9, 1951, "would have tragic consequences for the U.S. in relation to the build-up of the Chinese Communist Party, also in Indo-China, Thailand, Indonesia and the efforts in the Philippines." Besides, asked Senator Wiley, "if we stopped where we began, how could we justify the 175,000 casualties sustained by us in Korea?"

With the election of Eisenhower, the Korean dilemma became still more acute. A Gallup poll showed that the biggest factor in the Eisenhower landslide of November 1952 was the feeling that U.S. intervention in Korea was a mistake. Newspapers throughout the country carried a growing number of demands for peace in Korea by angry citizens of all shades of political opinion. To gain votes Eisenhower had to promise that if elected he will go to Korea with the view of ending the war. The Eisenhower administration faced the problem of convincing the American people that it was different from the preceding Truman regime.

Stalemate or Checkmate?

Equally disconcerting was the military situation. The 1952 spring and summer offensives under Clark and Van Fleet proved a total failure. In desperation, the U.S. military publicly announced their brutal aim of wiping out 78 Korean towns. But the growing strength of the North Korean and Chinese air forces and anti-aircraft defences made U.S. bombing and napalm raids ever more costly in terms of plane losses. Moreover, they failed to cut North Korean supply lines.

When Eisenhower visited Korea, reported Robert Allen, General Clark told him that atom bombs were required to break the military deadlock. But even Truman knew that this was not the answer. "Bombing Manchuria is no way to end the conflict," he had declared, "unless we are prepared to put five million men in Korea on the ground." Otherwise the bombing of Manchuria, Wall Street's final bolt, would have doomed the 500,000 American troops on the peninsula to annihilation.

In the 1953 winter offensive (following Eisenhower's trip to Korea), Clark and Van Fleet threw in their best mechanized forces, hurling 300,000 shells in one day in an effort to gain one tactically important hill. They failed to dislodge the Chinese and North Korean troops from a single height. Morale of U.S. troops sank lower as the Chinese and North Koreans in a limited offensive of their own took and held well-prepared American positions.

General Mark W. Clark went on a visit to Viet Nam. Blustering Van Fleet was retired, while Maxwell Taylor was played up as a more skilful general. On his return to the U.S.A., Van Fleet blamed his failure on the "shortage of ammunition." Called before a Senate committee, General Collins answered Van Fleet on March 28, 1953, by declaring: "In my judgment, and I will stake my reputation on it as a military man, you could not have prevented the build-up of the North Korean and Chinese forces unless you would have expended more ammunition than we could

possibly produce even in American industry. . . . These people (the Chinese and North Koreans) work, and if you start shooting they quit and take cover. Then, when you stop shooting at them—and you cannot shoot 24 hours a day unless you want to expend the whole U.S. Treasury—they start digging again.”

Thus, a new offensive in Korea was impossible without enormous costs. Costs the American people were unwilling to accept and which promised no success. Spreading the war to China involved the “calculated risk” of a third World War. But this time, according to the Alsops, Washington had to consider the fact that “Soviet air-atomic strength had reached a point where it could devastate the U.S.A.”

The defeat in Korea thus brought about the need for a total re-evaluation of strategy. Some big business spokesmen also argued that, since no immediate larger war was in sight, “we are due for a depression anyway”; therefore, it would be best to liquidate the unpopular Korean war while dealing with the depression under the umbrella of continued armament orders.

As if for the record, the Eisenhower team made still another try at compelling China to bow to U.S. dictation. Soon after he assumed office, Eisenhower announced that Chiang forces on Formosa might now carry out operations against the mainland. This green light carried the threat of U.S. terror raids on China’s cities by proxy—that is, by U.S.-trained pilots in the service of Chiang.

Peking quickly notified Washington that this policy of blackmail would fail. On February 4, 1953, Mao Tse-tung declared, “We want to stop the war immediately and to leave the remaining questions for later settlement. But American imperialism prefers not to do that. Well, then, we shall go on fighting. No matter how many years American imperialism prefers to fight, we are ready to fight it, to fight it until it beats a retreat, to fight it until the Chinese and Korean people secure full victory.”

The Eisenhower threat evoked world-wide consternation. The Indian daily, *The Times of India*, the country’s

most widely-circulated newspaper, referred to Eisenhower's speech as "madness" and as marked by "specious and calamitous reasoning." Observers from New Delhi reported that "Not since India gained her independence in 1947 has a president of the U.S. been criticized in such biting terms as were heaped upon President Eisenhower." The *Times* of London declared that "The Washington policy would create unfortunate political repercussions without compensating military advantages." Churchill reminded Washington: "Nobody likes a prolonged stalemate, but there are worse things than a stalemate—there is a checkmate," hinting that Washington's attempt to spread the war might lead to the total debacle of the U.S. military in Korea.

Bitter Truce

Although still suffering from indecision, Washington this time was compelled to heed the persistent Soviet and Chinese demands to resume truce negotiations. Now there was the problem of saving face. For the first time in its history the U.S. could not dictate peace terms. Stalled on the battlefield and compelled to enter *bona fide* peace negotiations proved very embarrassing to the Pentagon fire-eaters. It meant admitting defeat. "The danger as viewed from Washington," reported Hanson Baldwin, in May 1953, is that "if there is a truce now under present conditions, the United States will have lost the first great campaign it has ever lost."

To make up for this, the U.S. truce team, by now evidently desiring a settlement, acted as truculent as ever. On May 6, 1953 the Chinese and North Koreans accepted Washington's prisoners of war proposal. But General Harrison, chief of the U.S. team, kept on inventing new obstacles to block agreement. While resuming negotiations, Air Force commander General Barcus hurled angry threats of still heavier bombing of Pyongyang.

Washington claimed that the peace negotiations, stalled for six months, were resumed because of a "change of atmosphere following Stalin's death." To thicken the smokescreen, the entire U.S. press insisted that "Russia switched her line" and that "this is a mystery that increases in depth day by day." The "mystery" turned out to be a statement by Premier Malenkov in April 1953 that the Soviets would support negotiations leading to a truce in Korea. But this was what Stalin himself had said on December 24, 1952, in reply to an inquiry by James Reston of the *New York Times*. "The USSR," he declared, "is interested in ending the war in Korea and would cooperate in any new diplomatic approach designed to bring about an end to the war." At that time, however, Washington still labelled this offer as "a trap designed to divide the free world."

As the flow of blood in Korea was about to stop, Wall Street braced itself for the ordeal. It reassured itself that "a truce is not peace, that talks will be endless and basic settlements are not to be expected." Yet, New York stocks and commodities nose-dived. Near panic gripped the exchanges in Tokyo and Osaka. (U.S. war spending in Japan in 1952 totalled one billion dollars. A truce in Korea would hurl Japan's economy into a tailspin and, what is more, might lead it to trade with China, warned U.S. economists.

The end of the hot war, Wall Street feared, would lead to the end of the cold war. "Moscow," wrote *U.S. News & World Report*, "is sending red doves of peace to bring the U.S. up against the major problem of keeping its people employed by forcing it into a peace economy." "President Eisenhower's premise," explained the *New York Times*, was that "Americans would be fully employed" because "the complex problems involving a general settlement in the Far East would not arise. ...However," it complained, "the Russians have not been so obliging."

Nor were the Chinese and North Korean peoples and the peace forces the world over. Their heroic struggle forced the war incendiaries to accept an armistice. Reluct-

antly, Wall Street's generals dragged themselves to the Panmunjom truce tents to face the hard, unpalatable facts. Under the heading, "Bitter Truce," *Barron's* declared on June 15, 1953, "The first and decisive fact is that after three years of fighting, high casualties and the expenditure of billions, American arms stand about on the line from which the war started."

Syngman Rhee's bitter opposition to an armistice, his last-ditch attempt to keep the war going, once more presented to the world the unretouched portrait of Washington's "freedom" fighter. It gave conclusive proof as to who started the war, whose word provided Truman with the sole pretext for intervention. Rhee's action in "releasing" the war prisoners, declared General Van Fleet on June 20, 1953, was not entirely unexpected by the U.N. command. "He hinted," said the *Detroit Free Press*, "that such a plan (to create a deadlock—*H.D.M.*) had been under consideration by certain allied officials some time ago but he refused to elaborate."

Influential British newspapers demanded that the deadlock created by Rhee "be solved by taking the South Korean premier and bundling him out of office." The opinions and sentiments of the American troops in Korea were more candid. "They ought to hang the ——," the GIs up front were saying, according to a report by Leroy Hansen, a United Press staff writer. He reported soldiers as declaring, "We think there is not a man up here who wouldn't shoot Rhee to get this thing over even if he ended up in the electric chair." The men in Washington, however, felt differently. Senator Knowland declared: "I don't think Rhee has done anything that warrants anyone to say we can't trust him." Rhee, he recalled, was educated in the United States.

From Seoul Robert Alden reported in the *New York Times* that "Mr. Pyun's (Rhee's foreign minister) idea of solving the Korean problem is to drop the Hydrogen bomb on Moscow. Mr. Pyun has frequently suggested that course in conversations with diplomats."

On July 27, 1953, a truce was signed at Panmunjom. Rhee immediately insisted on a U.S. guarantee to resume the war if no agreement were reached within 90 days after the start of the peace conference. Dulles hedged this demand by declaring that "the U.S. would not *automatically* resume the war at *this time*." On July 28 Rhee and Dulles joined in a declaration that the U.S. will walk out of the conference if no agreement is reached within the 90 days.

Since India acted as a force for peace, the U.S. lined up its Latin American satellites to block India's participation in the peace conference. A Dulles-Rhee agreement followed, holding forth the threat of war against China should it continue to support the North Korean government. To reinforce this threat Washington dispatched an additional \$400 million guns and planes to Indo-China. "U.S. diplomats," reported Ray Cromley, "are mustering all their arguments to convince the French they shouldn't accept the Red Chinese broadcast-offer for a Korea-like peace conference to end the war in Indo-China."

In Tokyo, foreign minister Katsuo Okazaki formally announced a new U.S.-Japanese mutual security accord signed on August 7, 1953, calling "for Japan to move into the heavy munitions industry." A previous accord signed on September 8, 1952, provided for the indefinite stationing of U.S. troops in Japan and for "assisting the U.S. in any action it may take in the Far East." Tightened also were the World War III springs on Formosa. On August 11, 1953, James Reston reported: "There are more U.S. military officers and cloak-and-dagger officials on that island than ever before."

Wall Street's intentions were summarized by Joseph R. McCarthy who declared, "Of course we will have truces from time to time but as soon as the sinews of war are rebuilt we will have a shooting war. We cannot stop without victory or death to this nation. That war was declared by Karl Marx in 1848. We will win it alone if we have to."

Some Overall Lessons

The lessons of the Korean war are of great historical importance. Some of them have already been noted in this chapter. The specific military lessons, such as the impact of the war in shattering the U.S. war alliances, will be dealt with later. Here we merely wish to point out that the imperialists succeeded only in attaining secondary objectives. They did bolster up the Chiang and Rhee regimes, which by now would have been long buried and forgotten. In the U.S.A. armament spending and the creeping process of fascization which characterized the period before the war, rose to higher levels.

A few trusts reaped enormous profits. But the capitalist system as a whole sank deeper into bankruptcy as a result of the "little war" in Korea. Inflation, wild price gyrations, disruption of trade, currency chaos, etc., soon brought a number of the capitalist countries, notably France and Britain, to the brink of economic ruin. This was the handwriting on the wall, signifying that imperialism could only hasten its irrevocable doom by unleashing another world war, that world capitalism could not possibly survive such a war.

Among the colonial and particularly among the Asian peoples, the Korean war aroused still fiercer hatred of the imperialist powers. George Barrett reported: "When the South Koreans saw that the Communists had left their homes and schools standing in retreat while the U.N. troops left only blackened spots where towns once stood, the Communists even in retreat chalked up moral victories."

The indomitable resistance of the North Korean and Chinese peoples, the inability of the United States, the strongest industrial power in the capitalist world, to win a decisive victory, buttressed the struggle of all the oppressed peoples in the colonial and dependent countries.

In Korea, imperialism was battering itself against an irresistible force. Militarily it could no longer win on the ground and was challenged in the air. The Korean war re-

presented the strategy of a ruling class in its final stage. Mass destruction became, as it were, its last desperate weapon. But this desperation was also an omen, as will be shown later, of Washington's World War III strategy.

Korea again revealed the undeniable determination of the Soviet Union to uphold world peace, and the infinite patience with which it blocked all imperialist provocations for World War III. This demonstrated that imperialist plots, which in the past led to world conflagrations, are no longer successful in bringing them about.

Among the peoples of the world, the Korean war aroused horror and revulsion. It punctured every legend Washington had fostered about its "defence of Christianity and Western civilization." The world peace forces gained millions of new adherents. The war incendiaries became more isolated. The Korean war also deepened the peace sentiments of the American people. Contrary to the plans of its instigators, this conflict multiplied the obstacles blocking a third World War.

Chapter VI

Fascism: U. S. Design

WHITHER AMERICAN DEMOCRACY? Will it retain its bourgeois-liberal character or be displaced by a ruthless dictatorship of the monied oligarchy? This question was much discussed even during the last century. Some optimists like Lord Bryce believed that America would never develop what he called the diseases of the old world. "In parts of the country," he admitted in 1888, "distinctions have begun to grow up." But, he added "the poor have nothing to fight for, no grounds for disliking the well-to-do, no complaints to make against them. The agitation of the last few years has been directed not against the richer classes generally, but against incorporated companies . . . who employed their wealth to procure legislation opposed to the public interests."

Alexander Mackay, another British observer, commenting on the soundness of American democracy, noted in 1849: "It is quite possible that some of the millionaires of America would have no objection to the establishment of a different order of things. But both in numbers and influence they are insignificant."

American capitalism, as compared to European, was still young and on the upgrade. The abundance of unsettled virgin territory gave rise to millions of independent farmers; the relative shortage of labour, to higher wages and a rapidly-expanding technology. In numerous mass struggles during and after the Revolutionary War of 1776 and later in 1860, the American people succeeded in extending their civil and democratic rights. All this created wider economic opportunities and civil liberties for many white workers. The view thus became prevalent that American capitalism and the minority who wielded state power were

different from the capitalists of the war-torn, crisis-ridden old world. Despite chattel slavery, people spoke of the promise that American democracy held forth.

Charles Dickens, far more sensitive to the people's interests than most other visitors from abroad, proved a keener political observer. As early as 1842 he noted the "growing tyranny of the money interests" and the "foul growth of America's licentious press." After seeing the United States Congress in action he described its members as follows: "I saw in them the wheels that move the meanest perversion of virtuous political machinery that the worst tools ever wrought. Despicable trickery at elections ... with scurrilous newspapers as shields and hired pens for daggers; shameful trucklings to mercenary knaves ... abettings of every bad inclination in the popular mind and artful suppression of all its good influences ... in a word, dishonest faction in its most depraved and most unblushing form, stared out from every corner in the crowded hall. Year by year," he wrote, "the Congress and the Senate must become of less account before all decent men; and year by year the memory of the great Founding Fathers of the Revolution must be outraged more and more in the bad life of the degenerate child."

What Dickens saw in 1842 was only the beginning. A hundred years later even a Walter Lippmann could not help asking, "What in heaven's name has happened to us? What have we done that our public life should be so defiled, so debased?" The urchin had turned into a robust marauder.

Wall Street's Chain of Command

The degeneration of American bourgeois-democracy kept pace with the concentration and centralization of capital. Although the Sherman anti-trust law was enacted in 1890 as a result of populist and other anti-monopoly movements, the fusion of banking and industrial enterprises went

on faster than before. At the turn of the century, most of the sinews of the country's economy—mines, building materials, railroads, chemicals, steel, oil, gas, electricity, farm prices, patents, credits, interest rates, as well as schools and the press—came under the sway of a few giant industrial monopolies. In 1911 Frederick Townsend Martin, a millionaire banker, candidly wrote, "It matters not one iota what political party is in power or what president holds the reign of office. We are not politicians or public thinkers: we are the rich; we own America."

By 1912 a Congressional committee reported that 180 individuals, interlocked in 746 directorships, controlled 134 of the largest corporations.

Republican and Democratic party leaders still vowed allegiance to the liberal democratic principles of Jefferson and Lincoln, but the operations of the new finance oligarchy, the rise of American imperialism, demanded further curbs on the people's civil and democratic rights as well as the increased use of force and violence against America's working classes. The State and War departments became the direct agents of the trusts, headed by J. P. Morgan and Company. Intervention by U.S. Marines and warships was used to extend the wealth and investments of America's 200 families in Mexico, Cuba, the Philippines, as throughout Central and South America, some parts of Africa and Asia.

Today, some 400 individuals, holding 1,200 seats on the boards of 250 of the biggest corporations, are the *de facto* rulers of America. Although representing only one-twentieth of one per cent of the total number of corporations (587,000), they own more than 42% of total corporate assets. The Morgan-First National Bank group alone controls 83 of these corporations with assets of \$55 billion. United by numerous money and family ties, they form something akin to a holding company whereby the financially strongest group exercises decisive control over the rest.

The American financial oligarchy is composed of nine main groupings—the Morgan, Rockefeller, Kuhn-Loeb, Mellon and Ford groups, and the Chicago, Cleveland, Boston

and California financial groups. The relative strength of the various groups within this oligarchy is always changing. The du Pont and Mellon groups, for example, are now more dominant than before. Rockefeller is in the process of outstripping Morgan because of the fantastic oil profits of recent years.*

A top standing committee of this oligarchy, accountable to no one but itself, formulates the country's basic policies. According to former Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah, the secret general staff of America's oligarchy is composed of the leaders of the following dozen billion-dollar corporations: American Telephone and Telegraph, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors, U.S. Steel, E. I. du Pont de Nemours, Bethlehem Steel, General Electric, Irving Trust Company, Westinghouse Electric, International Harvester, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, and U.S. Rubber. Having fused with the state apparatus and taken over all key government positions, their decisions and edicts are more sweeping than those of any former kings or tsars. The main features of the Taft-Hartley law, for example, were drawn up by a group of men representing these corporations, who met secretly in a luxurious suite in a Washington Hotel in November 1945. To all intents and purposes, the United States is governed by a dictatorship of these interlocked banks and trusts—commonly referred to as "Wall Street."

This anonymous but all-pervading dictatorship is hidden behind the veneer of "democratic" institutions. The members of this elite group of bankers and industrialists are "respectable," "innocent," church- and philanthropy-supporting individuals. They interlard their infrequent public statements with words like God, truth, justice and freedom. At their mere nod, however, batteries of lawyers, judges,

* At the end of 1952 the aggregate assets of the 66 biggest companies hit a new all-time high of \$174,318,787,000. Of these, 11 were linked to the Rockefellers, 19 to Morgan, 4 to California interests, 3 each to the du Pont and Boston groups, 5 each to the Kuhn-Loeb, Mellon and Chicago groups, and the rest to Ford, Lehman, Dillon Read, and other interests. (*Economic Notes*, June 1953)

politicians, writers and journalists are set in motion. The Mellon, du Pont, Morgan, Rockefeller, Lehman, Brown Brothers, Harriman, Giannini and Chase National Bank groups control most of the daily newspapers and magazines, film, broadcasting and television chains, the public schools, and the trustee boards of colleges and universities—in short, practically every image, word or thought that reaches the American people.

The operations of this top ruling circle are concealed by an indirect chain of command. First in this chain are the various regional bankers, heads of industries and public information organs, the key military men and cabinet members. Their main task consists in executing the political and economic decisions adopted in the secret conclaves of the top consortium.

Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois, a member of Congress for over forty years, noted: "The orders come down from the National Association of Manufacturers to the G.O.P. national headquarters in Washington and they assign the Congressmen to the specific job required. The Pews and the du Ponts who control the N.A.M. also control the G.O.P."

Next in line are the federal, state and local government officials, from president down to senators, judges, to petty ward politicians. These serve as the democratic façade. They owe their loyalty to either the Republican or the Democratic Party and have to be "elected." Millions are required for election to higher posts. According to Senator Guy M. Gillette, many candidates for Congress spent "over a million and a half for a job that brings a 12 to 15 thousand-dollar-a-year salary."

The big corporations and banking houses finance the election campaigns. In the 1952 presidential election, the Rockefeller-Chase National Bank group, together with the Morgan group, financed the Eisenhower campaign. The late Senator Robert A. Taft was supported by the Chicago-Cleveland industrial and financial groups. Winthrop W. Aldrich, head of the Chase National Bank and key man in the vast Rockefeller empire, arrived in Chicago on July 6, 1952. A

few days later, the *Chicago Tribune* reported, he offered to purchase delegates attending the Republican National Convention at a price of \$3,000 to \$10,000 apiece. He was joined by Alfred Sloan, chairman of General Motors, and Henry Ford II, who, the New York *Daily Mirror* reported, "has his yacht anchored off Michigan Boulevard, where wavering delegates are entertained. Ford is for Ike; and he has reached as far as Virginia to woo votes."

The Democratic Party's main social base, especially in the numerically decisive big cities, is among workers, Negro people and the national minorities. But its Big Business High Command parallels the one of the Republican Party. In this way, many elections are turned into a prearranged game between two sets of candidates, serving the same key interests. Sensing that their choice is limited, 40% to 60% of those eligible to vote frequently stay home and do not exercise their democratic right.

Millions of Negroes, moreover, are disfranchised. According to a Southern Regional Council report of February 7, 1953, only about 1,110,000 out of the 10 million Negroes in the South are registered for voting. Negro applicants, especially in the rural areas, are barred by their white landlords from voting through the imposition of stringent qualifications, such as requiring them to produce white character witnesses, or through outright force and violence.

Thus, no county in the U.S. has a Negro sheriff; no city has a Negro mayor; no state has a Negro senator. In the state of Mississippi, with a population of two million, half of whom are Negroes, anti-Negro representatives are elected because only 7.5% of the population is eligible to vote.

Tied to the banks and corporations, legislators automatically rubber-stamp the requests of their patrons. At times they do not even care to know what they are voting on, so long as it is sponsored by Big Business. On July 19, 1951, for example, a Wall Street-backed Economic Controls Bill, which prohibited the lowering of prices, was passed in Congress by limiting debate to thirty seconds. "In the press gallery," wrote the *New York Times*, "reporters wondered

how the lawmakers knew what they were voting on." On the other hand, time is a cheap commodity if the aim is to filibuster measures intended to outlaw the lynching of Negroes.

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The Mailed Fist

Even in so-called normal times, the capitalists cannot rule by means of fraud and corruption alone. These must be supplemented by the use of violence. As early as 1790, Alexander Hamilton, using his office as Secretary of the Treasury to increase the wealth of the merchants and the landed aristocracy, advocated the suppression of democracy with an iron hand. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, both gunmen and courts were used to prevent the development of trade unions. The latter were declared to be "malicious conspiracies." "Sentence was passed Saturday on the twenty men who had determined not to work," wrote William Cullen Bryant in 1836. "They had committed the crime of unanimously declining to go to work."

Repressions and the use of force and violence against workers began to mount in the latter part of the last century with the rise of the big monopolies. Besides countless acts of violence against the Negro people, there were, to name only a few examples, the 1877 massacre of 70 railroad strikers; the Haymarket frame-up and hangings, after 350,000 workers struck for an eight-hour day on May 1, 1886; the Homestead killings in 1892; the Ludlow massacre of 33 people, most of them women and children, in 1914, by the Rockefeller militia during a mine strike. After World War I, Big Business launched a series of mass arrests and deportations of foreign born, the notorious Palmer raids against "radicals" and working class leaders. Between 1919 and 1922, it employed large-scale violence to crush the big steel, mine and railroad workers' strike movements against the open shop.

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In this atmosphere of hysteria, two Italian workers, Niccola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were framed on a robbery and murder charge, and seven years later were executed despite world wide protest.

The American trusts fully revealed their fascist tendencies during the great depression of the thirties. Fearing that this crisis might give rise to a politically-conscious working class allied with the poor farmers, Big Business openly demanded that the Constitution be set aside in favour of a dictatorship. The *Nation's Business*, organ of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, asserted in its March 1935 issue, "Many thoughtful people believe that our form of government should be changed to something resembling a fascist form."

Under the slogan, "Drive all radical professors and students from universities," the Hearst press and the Daughters of the American Revolution campaigned for teachers' loyalty oath bills. Fascists like Father Coughlin, Huey Long, Gerald L. K. Smith and others were widely publicized and well financed. The national commander of the American Legion, Alvin Owsley, declared, "If ever needed, the American Legion stands ready to protect our institutions as the fascists dealt with the destructionists who menaced Italy."

The National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metal Trades Association and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, financed the fascist-spirited Liberty League, the Crusaders, the Sentinels of the Republic, the Constitutional League of America, which specialized in anti-labour, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-New Deal propaganda. They denounced the Roosevelt relief measures for America's destitute and unemployed as "Communist" and "subversive." To quell the rising demands of workers and farmers for relief from want and unemployment, they also sponsored various terrorist vigilante groups—black, brown, blue, khaki and silver shirt organizations. In 1936 there were 119 such pro-fascist outfits in the U.S.A.

The big corporations also maintained a vast army of

professional strikebreakers, thugs, spies and private arsenals of ammunition. In Washington, MacArthur routed the bonus marchers with tanks and bayonets. The Chicago Memorial Day and the National Textile strike massacres, as well as the slaughter at Ford's Dearborn plant, were perpetrated against peaceful demonstrations of workers demanding employment.

Of the reign of terror that followed the San Francisco general strike in 1934, *The Nation* reported, "Literally thousands, including many noncombatants, have been gassed, had their skulls cracked, been trampled upon and shot. Those attempting to win better working conditions are met with special clubs four feet long, gas bombs, iron pipes, billies and bullets." Of Imperial Valley, California, it reported, "Police, private armies and vigilantes committed every crime in the calendar upon the migratory workers."

In 1935 Secretary of Interior Ickes declared, "It becomes more apparent every day that there is a sinister movement in this country that seeks to superimpose on free American institutions a system of hateful fascism. This group is composed of, or at least has the active support of, those who have grown tremendously rich and powerful through the exploitation, not only of natural resources, but of the men, women and children of America. Having stopped at nothing to acquire the wealth that they possess, they will stop at nothing to hold on to that wealth and to add to it. . . . By pretending that a Communist uprising threatens in this country, these gentry are attempting to line us up in support of a fascist coup d'état." On April 29, 1938, President Roosevelt declared that it was "the monopolistic finance oligarchy which constituted the main source of the fascist danger."

Although gathering strength, the forces of American fascism could make but little headway during the 1930's. Such indispensable fascist tools as the "Soviet aggression" lie and "the Communist threat" were still monopolized by the Hitlerites. In the first place because "U.S. capitalism was not as deeply affected by the general crisis of the system

as was German capitalism." Secondly, big business had but few allies among the American people. Anti-monopoly sentiment ran high throughout the country. The 15 million unemployed workers and the millions of farmers and small businessmen who lost their homes and savings during the depression were strongly anti-Wall Street. Farmers in the middle and far West ousted judges to prevent foreclosures of their homesteads.

The crisis also taught the workers the need for progressive leadership. The C.I.O. was born and the labour movement was advancing. The great struggles and mass demonstrations organized by the Communist Party in behalf of the unemployed and unorganized workers gave a new perspective and militancy to the entire working class and many people's organizations. As a result, unemployment insurance and other legislation favourable to labour became the law of the land. The big strikes, the broad economic, political and democratic struggles of that period played a decisive role in stemming the drive to fascism and in frustrating the attempt of some monopolies to align the U.S.A. on the side of Nazi Germany.

American fascism was still on the defensive. It feared and hated Roosevelt's concessions to the people and his talk about "the abundant life" and "the century of the common man." But these tactics, many monopolists soon realized, actually saved the day for them and stabilized their system. This stabilization was possible because world capitalism as a whole was not yet afflicted with the mortal wounds it sustained later on. Although raked by a severe crisis, the U.S. trusts in the thirties did not measure their life expectancy *entirely* in terms of war and arms production. Armaments, admitted the *Wall Street Journal* in 1935, "are a sustaining factor." But they were not yet *the* factor.

All this changed, however, after World War II. The new, huge capital accumulations and plant expansion magnified the basic contradiction of American capitalism. Its leaders were more afraid than ever of the political consequences of another depression. Their need for maximum

profits and bigger market outlets, plus the downfall of the German and Japanese fascist regimes which served in Europe and in Asia as gendarmes for the American as well as the other monopolists—and other factors as well, spurred the American financial oligarchy in the direction of fascism. At the same time, their war prosperity enabled the trusts to regain influence over the middle classes and considerable sections of the better-paid workers. During the war, Wall Street also consolidated its control over the government apparatus and merged with it more closely than before.

A Six-Pronged Assault

"It can't happen here," was the refrain of many Americans during the thirties, as the hideous spectacle of German, Italian, Japanese and Spanish fascism unfolded. Americans, it was held, would never tolerate the Hitler, Mussolini, Hirohito type of rule. But this assumption, even if true, still does not rule out the emergence of a species of fascism peculiar to the U.S.A. Fascism cannot always be recognized by its outward trappings or the slogans it disguises itself under. These vary according to the traditions and sentiments of the people it seeks to enslave. In Italy it clothed itself in the garb of Caesarism and abolition of class differences; in Germany it talked socialism and race superiority; in Japan, Shintoism; in Spain, pious Catholicism; and in Yugoslavia, of a special brand of "Marxism." In the United States it speaks of "freedom," "democracy" and the "American way of life."

Nevertheless, the earmarks of fascism are everywhere the same. Fascism has but one main objective—higher and higher profits for the bottomless gullets of the trusts. The universal means for achieving this end are the smashing of trade unions and working class organizations, anti-Communism, the systematic inculcation of chauvinism, jingoism, and hatred toward coloured peoples (Aryan or white supre-

macy), anti-Semitism, the promotion of cultural decay, war hysteria and the glorification of blood-shed. All of these, including the abolition of civil liberties and monopoly rule through open terror, do not emerge in one day or one year. The establishment of a fascist dictatorship is usually preceded by a series of pre-fascist stages, during which working class rights and civil liberties are more or less gradually curbed or abolished.

Such is the process now taking place within the U.S.A. At this writing America is still not subjected to full-fledged fascist rule which is "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." But it is already beyond the twilight zone separating bourgeois democracy from the fascist police state. Countless Americans, accused of political dissent or of harbouring "dangerous" thoughts, have already been deprived of their constitutional rights. From this stage of developing fascism, it is but another step to open terrorist repressions of trade unions and of the working people as a whole. It is for this fateful step that America's finance oligarchy is girding itself.

On the whole the fascist offensive in the U.S.A., or what may be called the "softening up" process preceding the transition to full fledged fascism, is chiefly being carried out by means of a six-pronged assault.

1. By hastening the decay of bourgeois democracy, to claim the need for "stronger" leadership and so create the conditions for transferring the entire government apparatus to the openly fascist, McCarthy wing of reaction.

2. By setting up the legal framework for fascism through Taft-Hartley, Smith, McCarran and various so-called "emergency" laws and creating an atmosphere of fear and terror in the name of a fictitious internal threat (that the Communists are conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence); all this in order to silence all opposition through attacks on the freedom, livelihood and even the lives of trade union leaders, liberals, the foreign

born, Negro leaders, minority political parties, progressive organizations, etc.

3. By a deliberate attempt to bring about widespread mental and moral degeneration, especially among the youth; its objective is to clear a major obstacle from the path of reaction—a healthy, clear-sighted, conscientious youth, ready to fight for its future.

4. By maintaining a continuous and ever-rising war hysteria through the creation of a fictitious external threat (the myth of Soviet aggression).

5. By curbing the mounting struggle of the Negro masses for full political and economic equality, and promoting the fascist myth of race superiority to prevent Negro-white unity.

6. By hastening the formation of fascist cadres through actively brutalizing the youth and other sections of the population, by the kind of war that was conducted against the Korean people.

To say that an oligarchy is in a state of crisis is to say that its total booty, wealth garnered from exploitation of foreign and domestic workers, does not meet its rapacious needs. In a period of this kind, therefore, the ruling class and its servants utilize the state apparatus for ever bigger steals. Plunder and thievery reach an incredibly high level. This in turn hastens decomposition of the state apparatus. But the more bourgeois democratic government becomes riddled with corruption, the more "reasonable" sounds the demand for the "strong man." Disgusted, bewildered, or panic-stricken masses are presented with the nationalist super-patriot who promises to clean the Augean stables of the rotting, crisis-ridden regime. Thus, fascism always plays "on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice and sometimes even their revolutionary traditions," and by "hypocritically denouncing corruption, it delivers up the people to be devoured by the most corrupt, most venal elements."

Decay of Bourgeois-Democracy and Rise of McCarthyism

In the United States, party rule rests on city and state machines with their control of jobs, appointments and billions in purchases, levies and contracts. Greedy politicians, however, are seldom satisfied with the handouts of tight-fisted bankers who hold the purse strings. They turn toward the big crime syndicates, supplementing regular graft and thievery with revenue from all sorts of criminal activities, such as gambling and houses of prostitution. Thus, Big Business, crime and politics have always been inter-dependent.

After World War II, crime, fraud and swindle became integral, organic to the entire government apparatus. On seeing the gluttonous trusts raking in billions, the various smaller crooks inside and outside the government felt it no more than just to filch a bigger share of the spoils. There arose a kind of hierarchy among thieves, and the cesspool of corruption reached to the White House.

In many instances it became difficult to mark the borderline separating common thieves, gamblers and gangsters from mayors, judges, senators, governors and other so-called public leaders. The "investment of a few hundred dollars brings profits as high as \$100,000 in land speculation deals on sites where hydrogen bomb factories are rising," reported the *New York Times*, with officials of the Atomic Energy Commission involved in the deals. Government officials in partnership with Big Business stole billions' worth of government property.

Most deals between Big Business and the criminal syndicates remain well hidden. At times, however, quarrels break out among the smaller fry over division of the spoils. Sometimes embezzlements by national crime syndicates begin to cut into the legal rapine of Big Business itself. All this leads to various "investigations." The 1951 Senate Crime Investigating Committee thus reported that "organized criminal gangs are firmly entrenched in the large

cities, controlling gambling, narcotics and commercialized prostitution, who are organized in monopolies ... and are aided and protected by so-called law enforcement officers. ... They do not hesitate to use murder, bombing or any other form of violence to eliminate competition ... or to persuade potential victims." The report carefully avoided exposing the real nature of American political corruption, the gangland networks connecting both the Democratic and Republican parties, the banks, the trusts, and the entire mob of vultures feeding on death and armaments.

After hearing sworn testimony of witnesses before the investigating committee, Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas exclaimed, "I never heard so much lying in my life." The committee was finally dissolved because it touched off a general chain reaction. The McGraths were called grafters by the Boyles; the Morrisises, swindlers by the McGraths; the Flanagans, thieves by the Morrisises; the Trumans, fakers by the Links—and so on, *ad infinitum*.

Political office boys make gangland's and Wall Street's best front men. This is perhaps best illustrated by the political fortunes of Harry S. Truman. In 1934, the felon Tom Pendergast, life-long intimate friend and patron of Truman, and boss of the Kansas City Democratic Party machine, declared, "I can put my own office boy into the U.S. Senate if I want to." He was not boasting. Harry Truman was elected U.S. Senator. Later, Congressman Dewey Short, Missouri Republican, declared in the House of Representatives, that Truman, when running for the Senate, "received a majority of 137,000 votes, or twice as many votes as Kansas City had voters at that time, and everybody in Missouri knows that they voted people who were dead for 20 years, taking the names ~~on~~ the tombstones."

After Pendergast's death, Charles Binaggio took over the Kansas City Democratic Party machine. According to the St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, Binaggio "was connected with fifteen criminal enterprises" and with "the most notorious murderers and arsonists in the country." In 1949 Binaggio

was murdered. John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News* wrote: "President Truman keeps the strangest company. Binaggio made several pilgrimages to the White House before his sudden end."

Truman ideally suited the Wall Street aim of creating popular contempt for democratic government and removing the last barrier to a total government-monopoly merger. The *Herald Tribune* commented: "The juvenile word asinine seems to be his main vocabulary. . . . We must wonder how the affairs of a great nation in a critical hour of history can be safely conducted by a president subject to such lapses." The *New York Times*, fearing the people's premature and total loss of confidence in the "leader," proudly reported through Arthur Krock, its Washington correspondent, that the president "defly rolled the globe before him and could tell almost any region on the map."

Like a Bruening or a Victor Emanuel, Truman suited the monopolists' every purpose but one: he lacked dictatorial stature. Hence, while utilizing the Truman puppet for all he was worth, their McCarthyites shouted, "Treason in the White House has been accomplished with the aid of Bourbon and Benedictine," and "The S.O.B. ought to be impeached." (McCarthy referred to Truman.) The Tafts continually referred to the "little idiotic man in the White House." A growing fraternity of MacArthurs conjured up the spectre of catastrophe. The "Communist-tainted, socialist Truman regime," they raved, must be replaced by "the flag and the cross." They settled for Eisenhower.

With the election of Eisenhower, the American oligarchy discarded indirect rule through agents and professional politicians and took over direct command of the state apparatus. It manned all cabinet posts with top representatives of American monopoly power.* Charles E. Wilson, president, and Robert M. Keys, vice president of General Motors, took over the strategic offices of Secretary and deputy

* Martin Durkin, AFL leader, appointed as Secretary of Labour, resigned after Eisenhower rejected mild changes in the Taft-Hartley law.

Secretary of Defence. Douglas McKay and Arthur E. Summerfield, two other General Motors-du Pont men, took over the Interior and Post Office departments. John Foster Dulles, representing the Rockefeller group, was appointed Secretary of State. (Besides being lawyer for Rockefeller, I. G. Farben and various cartels, Dulles is also director of International Nickel, which controls the nickel output of the capitalist world.) Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of Chase National Bank, friend of Franco and close to the Rockefeller interests, was appointed ambassador to Great Britain. The Morgan empire is represented by Harold Stassen, director of Mutual Security, and Robert T. Stevens, chief of Army procurement and director of General Electric, General Foods and New York Telephone Company. Harold E. Talbott, chairman of North American Aviation, heads the Air Force procurement office. Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Navy, is the owner of a half-million acre Texas ranch and oil empire. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, a big manufacturer and millionaire, belongs to the Boston group of financiers.

The Cleveland and Mellon financial barons, controlling steel, rubber, coal, oil and utility combines, are represented by George M. Humphrey, himself a director of 34 steel and coal companies. Allen Dulles, appointed by Eisenhower to head the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency, acted as director of the J. Henry Schroeder Bank, which financed Hitler. Together with his brother, John Foster Dulles,* and their sister, Eleanor, now assistant in the State Department, he was closely associated with the magnates who created

* Albert E. Kahn reported: "On October 10, 1944, Senator Pepper declared: 'One of Mr. Dulles' connections which I believe the American people are especially entitled to know is his relationship to the banking circles that rescued Adolf Hitler from the financial depths and set up his Nazi Party as a going concern. . . . Mr. Dulles is listed as a director of the International Nickel Co. of Canada, which in 1946 was sued by the U.S. Government for having a cartel price-fixing alliance with I.G. Farben and giving illegitimate aid to German rearmament. . . ." (Albert E. Kahn, *High Treason*, New York, 1950.)

Hitler's Third Reich. Captured Nazi documents show that Allen Dulles was in regular contact with high Gestapo officials, including the notorious assistant to Himmler, the bloody Kaltenbrunner. C. Douglas Dillon, of Dillon Read, son of Clarence Dillon, close adviser and associate of Fritz Thyssen, I. G. Farben and the German steel trust, was appointed ambassador to France.*

The new set-up under the Eisenhower administration came into being because the American trusts can no longer rule in the old way. Brazen "big steals" involving hundreds of billions of national wealth, the more rapacious armament thievery for the "top group only," and the more intensified drive to war and fascism, can no longer be carried on through intermediates of the Truman type.

History does not repeat itself, but the methods pursued by ruling classes in crisis do show similarities. For president of the Weimar Republic, the Ruhr oligarchy promoted General Hindenburg, a professional soldier and national hero, a jingoist reactionary, ignorant of domestic and foreign affairs. His election paved the way for the fascist dictatorship. In 1952, the U.S. financial oligarchy chose Eisenhower, a similar military symbol, for a similar role. All the openly fascist-spirited Wall Street elements grouped themselves around him.

Under Hindenburg, the Junker landlords merged with

* While Big Business took over the state apparatus, former Pentagon generals received lucrative appointments in various Big Business outfits. General MacArthur became chief of Remington Rand; General B. B. Somervell was appointed president of Koppers Company, director of the Carborundum Company and other munitions outfits. Leslie R. Groves, a three-star general who headed the atomic bomb project, became vice president of Remington Rand; George C. Marshall was made director of Pan-American Airways; Ira C. Eaker, former commander of the Eighth Air Force in Europe, is now vice president of the Hughes Tool Company and general manager of the Hughes Aircraft Company; Joseph T. McNarney, who succeeded Eisenhower as Supreme Commander of American Armed Forces in Europe, is president of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft and chairman of the National Defence Management Committee.

the Ruhr monopolists. In the United States under Eisenhower, a new political realignment took place with the merging of the southern Dixiecrats and the Republican financial oligarchy of the North. To ease the overthrow of the Weimar Republic, the German fascists advanced the myth that Germany's World War I defeat was caused by internal subversion and incompetent un-German leaders who believed in President Wilson's promises. They preached a "policy of strength" and getting rid of corruption. In the Eisenhower campaign, the words "Stalin, Yalta, Potsdam," the corruption of the Truman administration, and the military failure in Korea played a similar role. In 1932, German Big Business circles supported the Hindenburgs, von Papens and Schachts, but in the meantime also held in reserve their Hitlers, Goerings and Ribbentrops. The U.S. oligarchy similarly supports the Eisenhower regime while holding McCarthyite fascism in reserve.

With Eisenhower's election, U.S. fascism began to crystallize and take form. Until then, Joseph R. McCarthy was generally regarded as a crackpot, a hysterical witch-hunter representing the "lunatic fringe" of American reaction. Today he embodies the monopolies' clearly worked-out plan to smash civil rights and trade unions, two main obstacles retarding their transition to full-scale fascism and full-scale war against the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies. McCarthyism is backed by practically all the monopolies centred around the Eisenhower-Dulles administration.

To a considerable extent, the McCarthy wing is already dictating U.S. foreign policy. It is imposing its "standards" on newspapers, radio broadcasts, schools, colleges, libraries, and terrorizing a large section of the American population. To make McCarthy the most powerful man in Congress, Eisenhower promoted him to the position of chairman of the Committee on Government Operation. His growing power is encouraged by the continuous and lavish support showered upon him by almost the entire monopoly press.

It already refers to him as the watchdog of U.S. interests at home and abroad.

Joseph R. McCarthy exhibits the typical features of the rabid fascist. He carries the imprint of the ruthless demagogue and political adventurer; his is the raving, psychopathic hatred of the people's movements that characterized Hitler. McCarthyism, like Hitlerism, feeds and is in turn being fed by the war drive and anti-Communism.

The McCarthyites are skillfully playing upon the sentiments of the American people, the majority of whom are fed up with the mounting costs of the hot and cold wars and the failure of American foreign policy. To gain a mass following, McCarthyism promotes a so-called "go it alone" isolationism combined with heightened chauvinism.

"Anti-communism," however, is McCarthyism's principal weapon. Knowing that many liberals and right-wing labour leaders are committed on this score, the McCarthyites relentlessly press them to carry their anti-communism to its logical conclusion—fascism. The Big Lie thus serves to soften resistance to fascism. Together with frame-ups, terror, and guilt by association, it tends to create a state of national hysteria.

McCarthyism demonstrates the fundamentally fascist character of the Eisenhower-Dulles government. It supports McCarthy although he constantly berates its policies as too slow in moving toward war and fascism. Republican Party "unity," the financial oligarchy frequently insists, implies obedience to McCarthy. Attlee's inquiry about who is more powerful, Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy, reflects the growing dominance of the fascist wing of the Republican Party in the Administration. But "it is more likely," wrote *The Nation*, "that Eisenhower actually approves McCarthy's objectives if not his methods."

The tactical reasons prompting the monopolies to build McCarthyism are two-fold. First, McCarthyism acts as a spearhead for silencing opposition to the Eisenhower war programme. Second, McCarthyism is held as the reserve, as the "ace in the hole" in case the Eisenhower-Dulles pro-

gramme of maintaining the democratic façade while pursuing ruthless imperialist policies abroad should fail. "McCarthy's objective is the presidency and nothing less," wrote Alsops, but they noted that "probably only the failure of the Eisenhower administration, involving a serious depression or a war, would give McCarthy a real opportunity for gaining national power".

The Legal Framework

In countries where fascism has no large mass following, the fascist bourgeoisie first tries to gain its objectives through parliamentary, legal means. It builds a legal framework so designed that its use will destroy trade unions, minority political parties, democratic judicial procedure—and finally—constitutional government itself. Even Hitlerite fascism provided itself with this kind of legal framework—special labour acts, Nuremberg Laws and sweeping anti-Communist legislation.

Since the main objective of fascism is to raise the rate of profit, its first steps are directed against labour. Above all, they are designed to chain the working masses in advance, to make it harder for them to throw off the shackles to be imposed later on. The Taft-Hartley law was passed in 1947, while U.S. fascism was still in its creeping stage. The law was written by the most bitter foes of organised labour, by lawyers of corporations with a long history of anti-union activities. Its main clauses provide Big Business with a variety of weapons for smashing trade unions—injunctions for declaring almost any strike illegal, plus a host of measures to destroy collective bargaining. It limits the right of American worker to picket, to ostracize company scabs or stoolpigeons.

The Taft-Hartley law stifled the growth of unions. Since 1947 union membership has been at a standstill. Over \$31 million in fines have already been imposed on labour unions

for engaging in "illegal" strikes or for refusing to enter plants where a recognized union was on strike. Unionists and labour leaders, like Ben Gold, President of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, are prosecuted on the charge of "perjury" in signing the non-Communist affidavit required by the law. On May 3, 1953, 36 striking members of the United Mine Workers were arrested on charges of "conspiring to deny citizens the right *not* to join a union."

Passage of the Taft-Hartley law was followed by the resurrection of the Smith Act (an anti-sedition and alien registration law, which had been on the books since 1940.) On July 20, 1948, the members of the National Board of the Communist Party were arrested on the charge of "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence."

During the trial, the defence challenged the government to cite any instance when the U.S. Communist Party had ever advocated the use of force and violence to overthrow the U.S. government.

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, declared: "We will put in evidence all that we have written and said. We will let our deeds tell how for nearly thirty years the Communist Party has given devoted service to the American working class and people." In his summation to the jury in October, 1949, he pointed out that the prosecution did not bring forth one single piece of evidence which connected the Communist Party in any way "with any attempt to incite or organize any uprising, rebellion or riot" or ever "conspired to teach the procurement or use of arms, or advocated sedition, treason or revolt against the United States."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in addressing the jury which tried the second group of Communist leaders in 1952, said, "There is force and violence on those shelves but not where the Government looked for it. It is in Irish history—Connelly, O'Casey and others telling of the long and bloody struggle against British rule. It is in American labour

history, in Colorado, West Virginia, Homestead, South Chicago and on the Embarcadero of San Francisco. It is in American history—the Revolution, the wars against the American Indians, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War. It is in the struggle of the Negro people.” Always and everywhere, the defence demonstrated, it is the old and dying class which advocates and practices force and violence to preserve its obsolete rule.

In reply, the prosecution presented isolated passages from Lenin’s works pertaining to the revolutionary situation that arose after the bankruptcy and downfall of the tsarist regime. Judge Harold A. Medina, a corporation lawyer and millionaire landlord, and the handpicked (blue-ribbon) jury based their verdict on the testimony of professional anti-Communists, renegades and planted stoolpigeons. Medina sentenced all but one of the defendants to five years in prison. Robert Thompson, World War II hero, received a three year jail sentence. Later, four more years of imprisonment were imposed upon Thompson and three more on Gus Hall for having failed to show up for their original jail terms. The 13 Communist leaders, tried in 1952 before Judge Edward J. Dimock, were sentenced to jail terms ranging up to three years.

Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black declared in his dissenting opinion to the high court’s ruling which sustained the conviction: “They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date.” Even the *New York Times* admitted that the Communist Party leaders were convicted “not for any overt acts, not for conspiring to overthrow the government. . . . They were dealing with words, not acts. . . . What they were charged with doing was an attempt to create an atmosphere,” which, of course, is true. The convicted leaders *did* attempt to create an anti-fascist, anti-war atmosphere. They did advance and stimulate progressive

American economic and political thinking and the growth of a progressive American culture. As Communists, they taught American workers that their interests are identical with those of workers in other lands.

But with the growing dilemmas of the American ruling class, the publishing and propagation of these ideas turned into a mortal threat. A threat, because although its active membership now numbers only a few tens of thousands, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is potentially a mass party. For its programme for a peaceful democratic America points the way to solutions in terms of the objective conditions now ripening. Hence, reaction had to create the fictitious threat of "Communist force and violence." This has enabled it to label everyone opposed to war and fascism as "un-American" and "subversive."

In Pittsburgh, the Mellon steel, coal and aluminum barons dealt with the Communist Party in typical Hitler fashion. Their police raided the party's offices and jailed its leaders. Steve Nelson, prominent left-wing leader, author, and former officer in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion that fought for Loyalist Spain, and James Dolsen, 68-year-old writer and *Daily Worker* correspondent, were sentenced to 20 years in prison on an old Pennsylvania sedition law. Together with four co-defendants they also received additional five-year jail terms under the Smith Act. Dolsen had written articles opposing the Korean war. In pronouncing the sentence, the judge referred to Dolsen's "crime" as "worse than murder."

The war against Korea and the Supreme Court decision that the Communist Party represents "a clear and present danger" opened the way for a flood of other indictments. The anti-Communist terror was channelled to crush the leadership of progressive trade unions and peace organizations. In November 1951, a group of New York citizens heading the Peace Information Centre, were indicted for failing to register as "foreign agents." Throughout the country, many state legislatures, city councils, town and

village boards passed special anti-subversion and loyalty oath laws.

The Smith Act was used to make the teaching of Marxism a treasonable offence. It was followed by the far more sweeping McCarran law, which includes guilt by association. Passed in 1951, this act is in many ways a replica of Hitler's 1933 anti-subversion decree. Under the McCarran law, any organization advocating higher wages, better working conditions, Negro-white unity, peace with China, or opposing the McCarran law itself, can be classified as a subversive organization and dealt with accordingly. Together with the Smith Act, the McCarran law makes it a treasonable offence to advocate almost any kind of change of a progressive nature, or to express any idea that may be so interpreted by the F.B.I., or McCarthyite witch-hunters. The Un-American Activities Committee listed 608 people's organizations as subversive. While brazenly demanding that the Communist Party and other progressive organizations turn over the names of all their members, the Justice Department issued an official notice that it had erected six huge concentration camps. These, it is reported, are held in readiness for an eventual jailing of 500,000 men, women and children.

The McCarran law destroys the civil rights of millions of naturalized citizens. It provides government agents with broad powers of search and seizure, the right of inquiry into the habits and thoughts of millions of people, as well as 20 new grounds for deporting naturalized citizens. It allows deportation for alleged acts committed fifty years ago.

The International Workers Order, a 23-year-old interracial, multi-national fraternal organization of 160,000 people, was ordered dissolved. Its assets and insurance funds, which went for the support of workers' families in distress, were liquidated. Judges have revoked the citizenship of naturalized persons for having failed to report that they subscribed to a progressive journal 15 years ago. Men and women, many of them veteran labour leaders, are rounded up, usually at night or in the early hours of the

morning, manacled and dragged from their homes to the Ellis Island detention centre.

The number of Americans hounded by the F.B.I., the Un-American Activities Committee, the McCarthy and McCarran Committees, and the Loyalty Board witch-hunters, is now legion. According to Johannes Steel, writer and former radio commentator, approximately half a million Americans, teachers, artists, scientists, trade unionists, writers and others, are already either unemployed or in the process of being economically destroyed because of their political beliefs.

This legal terror revitalized a number of fascist "direct-action" gangs. In some localities, especially in the South, such gangs are employed for assaults against progressives, Negroes, peace fighters and trade unionists. In Peekskill, New York, fascist hoodlums, in collusion with the police, brutally attacked a Paul Robeson concert, injuring many people. In Mims, Florida, they bombed the home of Harry T. Moore, an active worker for the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. Both he and his wife, Harriet Moore, were killed. Anti-Semitic attacks on various Jewish cultural centres took place in Chicago, Pittsburgh and other cities. Some of these were led by fascists imported by Washington from the D.P. camps of Western Germany. In Silver City, New Mexico, in February 1953, the home of a union official was burned to the ground and a union hall set on fire because the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union sponsored a film portraying the workers' living conditions in that mining town.

Fascist intimidation reached the point where people refused to declare that they favour the preservation of civil liberties. Out of 112 people queried by a Madison, Wisconsin newspaper reporter, 111 refused to sign excerpts from the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. They said they were afraid of possible complications. "Fear," reported C. Phillips in the *New York Times*, "has assumed the proportions of a national neurosis. . . . It has spread like a pall. Fear and anxiety about his job and livelihood, fear

of being called a Communist, fear of the atom bomb and of the inevitable war has gripped the masses." Professors are afraid to mention the word Communism or that they ever read a book about it," declared T. M. Greene, Professor of Philosophy at Yale.

From a study of 22 American colleges, the *New York Times'* reporter, Kalman Scigel, concluded that "A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking college campuses. Students fear the exploration of knowledge and truth, to speak, act or think independently. . . . Fear of the Communist label is leading students to shy away, both physically and intellectually, from any association with the words 'liberal, peace, freedom.'" Dean McIntosh of Barnard College, said: "Girl students are even afraid to advocate the humanitarian point of view, because it has been associated with Communism."

Decaying capitalism, while galloping headlong toward barbarism, thus perceives the close kinship between the pursuit of truth, peace, humanism and socialism. "The bourgeoisie recognized," wrote Marx a hundred years ago, "that all the weapons it had forged against feudalism could have their points turned against itself; that all the means of education which it had created were rebels against its own civilization."

The Offensive Against Culture and Morals

American Big Business almost always referred to the term "intellectuals" in a derisive way. Today, American ruling class' contempt for the cultural heritage of mankind is more outspoken than ever. Aware that culture is the antithesis of fascism, the McCarthyite inquisitors, on hearing the word, suspect Communist influence and rush for the prison keys. Like their Hitlerite predecessors, they often direct their most vitriolic attacks against book publishers, writers, artists, ministers, teachers, physicians, and liberal

newspapermen. Among others, they imposed jail terms on Howard Fast, V. J. Jerome, Alexander Trachtenberg, Dalton Trumbo, Carl Marzani, Albert Maltz, John Howard Lawson, Dr. Herbert J. Phillips, Ring Lardner, Edward K. Barsky, Frederick V. Field and the poet Walter Lowenfels. Paul Robeson, like other people's artists, is prevented from performing or travelling abroad. Many editors of progressive publications, like Cedric Belfrage of the *National Guardian*, were arrested for deportation. To isolate the American people from the stream of world culture, many foreign artists, writers and scholars of world renown are barred from the U.S.A.

All over America libraries are purging their shelves of books which carry any message for social change and progress. According to L. C. Powell, librarian of the University of California, "The reading of an honest book is regarded as extremely suspicious and even treasonable."

In 1933, Goebbels declared that "In fifteen years no one in Germany will know what Marxism is." In 1953, this dictum has become the slogan of American McCarthyites. Like the Hitlerites, they put the subversive label not only on the scientific works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also on those of humanist poets and novelists. In Scarsdale, New York, a "Committee of Ten" fought to bar anthologies of American and British poetry. In Los Angeles, twelve citizens were appointed to peruse some 600,000 volumes, including the works of Hegel and Marx, "to purge them of subversive material." In Georgia, 30,000 copies of a work by the historian Frank Abbott Magruder, were destroyed, because, according to Governor Eugene Talmadge, "He advocated strengthening of the United Nations Charter and our bitterest enemies are members of the U.N." A school library in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, burned some of its books after a women's civic group objected to the way they dealt with socialism.

Rising symptoms of cultural and moral decay are frequently the most sensitive indicators of the disintegration of a given social system. The following data are but an

insignificant fraction of the total picture. They will serve, however, to indicate the stupendous effort of America's oligarchy to undermine the people's moral standards, culture and mental health.

The class that spends billions on Franco and Chiang Kai-shek has no money for the most elementary needs of America's working class children. "Only a Charles Dickens could adequately describe the health and educational conditions of the city youth and children," declared Judge Jerome Frank of New York. "New York's 250,000 school children are condemned to medical neglect," reported the *Herald Tribune* on March 21, 1949. "Twenty-two million school children have defects needing medical treatment. Selective Service Chief Louis B. Hershey reported that 45% of the draft-eligible youth examined since 1948 were rejected for physical, mental or moral reasons, and this, after reducing standards to their lowest levels. In July and August 1950, rejections for mental and physical defects rose to 58%.

School Life, the official journal of the U.S. Office of Education, states that there are 10 million functional illiterates in the U.S. and that 20% or six million of American school-age children do not receive an education. Millions more receive an incomplete education. In Kentucky, for example, "only one in 14 children completes high school. Three-fifths of the schools are one room buildings."

Instead of schools, health and cultural centres, Big Business provides America's children with comic books—60 million copies every month—whose gospel is sex, murder and war. As the children grow into youths they are presented with the Mickey Spillane type of crime fiction books that "slobber with blood, hate and brutality. The language of his heroes is 'kill 'em, left and right.'" The Congressional Gathings Committee put the total number of pocket-sized obscene books sold in the United States in the last two years at nearly 500 million copies. It described these as "artful appeals to sensuality, immorality, filth, perversion and degeneracy."

A similar kind of indoctrination is carried on by radio and television. The Gathings Committee reported that "during one week of monitoring six television channels in the Los Angeles area, between the hours of 6 and 9 P.M., the checkers reported having witnessed 91 murders, 71 hold-ups, 3 kidnappings, 10 thefts, 4 burglaries, 2 cases of arson, 2 jail breaks, 1 murder by explosion, 1 suicide, 1 case of blackmail, and numerous cases of assault and battery, drunkenness and brawls."

According to a survey released on November 20, 1953, by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, New York Television broadcasts exhibit on the average 3,412 acts and threats of violence each week. Children's programmes, it reported, exhibit 22 acts of violence per hour or "twice as much as shown at other times," and that "in 1953 the gun displaced the fist or foot as the most common means to commit violent acts."

And as for the other media of "public enlightenment," Margaret C. Banning, president of the Magazine Publishers Association, told the Committee that "the newspapers in America carry a display of sex provocation as displayed nowhere else in the world," and that "out of 1,231 magazines now being published in the United States, 1,131 had no purpose except vicious and provocative pictorial prostitution." (Emphasis mine.—H.D.M.)

The cultural fare foisted upon the American people was outlined by Brooks Atkinson, drama critic, when he wrote: "No one should venture into the theatre nowadays without a psychiatrist. . . . What you need in the theatre is a normal, healthy murderer who enjoys his work and has no misgivings or regrets." Most bourgeois critics bemoan the barren state of current American literature. Writers, they assert, feel frustrated and cynical. Their works lack creative ideas and a feeling for life. They exalt the trivial and decadent. "The dozens of novels by Southern writers," commented Orville Prescott, *New York Times* critic, "deal with dry rot on the live oaks, lechery beneath the magnolias,

madness and decay from the tidewater of Virginia to the bayou country of Louisiana.

Writers resort to a wild, disordered and one-sided description of reality. Ugliness and brutality are for them a fixed, unchanging aspect of human existence. Their credo is that crime and insanity are normal human states, that man's "conscious life" is weak and indecisive compared with the "subconscious animal drives." Man is depicted as a hysterical puppet, as a helpless, paralyzed, insignificant thing among things. In plays and novels the protagonists are usually bizarre, depraved characters, psychopaths and killers. In lauding the merits of an anti-Communist novel by Richard Wright, Granville Hicks wrote, "It is a book about modern man. . . . It is the description of action, especially of violent action. . . . There is not a murder in the book that the reader in the moment of reading about it, does not feel that he would have committed under the same circumstances."

Most American towns and cities, with the exception of a few areas where progressive organizations are still active, are cultural wastelands. About a third have no public libraries at all, and those outside the big cities are small and obsolescent. The "cultural" fare of the average American town consists of movie displays depicting violent death, hands dripping blood, smoking pistols, lurid females brandishing guns and daggers. Film titles range from *Blood on Your Hands*, *Edge of Doom*, *Death at Midnight*, to *Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye*. Big Business has immersed workers' neighbourhoods in a swamp of liquor joints, gambling dives and brothels. Chicago, a city of over four million inhabitants, has virtually no legitimate theatre of its own, only a few bookstores, but, 8,129 taverns and countless gambling and vice dens. Similar conditions prevail in other cities, including the nation's capital. Washington "lapped up three times as much liquor per capita as the rest of the nation," reported the *National Guardian*. "Pittsburgh is a gangster haven for the national crime syndicates which collect 20 billion dollars a year," reported Art Shields. Judges, police,

F.B.I. agents work with the racketeers, the crap and liquor joints and the hundreds of commercialized vice dens, which take the workers' payrolls.

A nationwide net of politicians, business men and gangsters thrive on the dissoluteness of an ever-growing number of Americans. They push the sale not only of crime literature, but also of alcohol and narcotics. The Welfare and Health Council of New York City estimated that there are close to 300,000 chronic alcoholics, to whom drinking is a compulsive illness, in New York City alone. For the country as a whole, the figures given by the National Committee on Alcoholism are "four million problem drinkers and a million alcoholics." "Narcotic addiction among juveniles has reached epidemic proportions," declared Harry J. Anslinger, U.S. commissioner of narcotics. The *New York Times* reported a "nightmare picture of teen-age boys drugging themselves in school buildings with heroin and marihuana." A federal narcotics agent told about "high school students pawning their clothing and forming robber gangs to obtain money to buy drugs." Policemen, the press reported, "spent their time in narcotics dens and houses of prostitution, exacting tribute from prostitutes and pimps."

Symptoms pointing to a growing overall decay of American bourgeois society are erupting also among the youth. Most American educators claim that the youth is gripped by a sense of futility. Segments of American youth, others claim, appear to be affected by a kind of moral imbecility. Clellon Holms, writing in the *Sunday Times*, described the new generation as "giggling nihilists... devoid of personal and social values." Colleges report that their sports and classroom activities are riddled with graft. Growing demoralization among college students expresses itself in moronic fads, such as raiding girls' dormitories. In April 1953, the *New York Times* reported of 1,000 Princeton University undergraduates rioting and screaming, "We want sex and we want women." A few days later similar scenes were reported at Columbia and Yale universities.

Nelson Algren, the distinguished American novelist, in

commenting on the state of America, in December 1952, wrote: "So accustomed have we become to the testimony of the photo weeklies ... establishing us as the happiest, healthiest, sanest, wealthiest, most inventive, fun-loving and tolerant folk, that we tend to forget that these are bought and paid for pictures and that all their testimony is perjured. ... Here in the back streets of the boulevards of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles," he wrote, "we find faces debauched by sheer uselessness ... so purposeless, yet so smug, harassed, or half-dehumanized, so self-satisfied, yet so abject. ... If so, this is truly the great American disease and would account in part for the fact that we lead the world today in incidence of insanity, criminality, alcoholism, narcoticism, cancer, homicide and perversion in sex as well as perversion just for the pure hell of the thing. ... 'It is as if we are being endowed with a vast and thoroughly appointed body,' Walt Whitman prophesied, 'and left with little or no soul.'"

Medical authorities report that most Americans are tense and worried, with millions teetering on the brink of nervous breakdowns. In a report issued on May 4, 1952, Oren Root, president of the National Association for Mental Health, declared that 800,000 cases of nervous breakdowns are *known* to occur annually in the U.S., with 65% of all patients who visit doctors and clinics classified as suffering from "nervous and mental disorders." Some "9,000,000 people in the U.S. are suffering from mental illness or other personality disturbances." Annual admissions to mental hospitals rose to 350,000, but hundreds of thousands of mental cases received no treatment because of woefully inadequate facilities.

Official government statistics showed that in 1950, 1,790,000 felonies were committed in the United States—"a larger number for a single year than the combined offences in all other civilized countries," remarked a *New York Times* writer. In 1952 local police authorities reported a total of 2,036,510 crimes of violence. For the first half of 1953, an F.B.I. release on September 9 reported, "one murder every

40 minutes, one rape every 29 minutes, a robbery every 8.8 minutes, an assault every 5.7 minutes, an auto theft every 2.3 and a burglary every 1 minute." According to Charles E. Moylan, Baltimore judge, the population of the state and federal prisons has increased seven times as fast as the national population in the last 25 years.

Total 1952 crime cases in New York City rose to the all-time high of 255,000 criminal offences. But for the first six months of 1953 the number of murders increased by 22%, that of manslaughter by 45.5% and felonious assaults by 10.7% above 1952. Under the heading, "Terror Stalks the Streets," Allen Keller reported: "Park benches in New York that women used to sit on with their babies, seeking relief from crowded, poorly ventilated tenements, are no longer safe. Few people dare to invade Columbus Park because they are attacked and bludgeoned in broad daylight." A leading New York clergyman, the Reverend James A. Pike, Dean of St. John's Cathedral, declared, "Hordes of young barbarians are swarming our streets, making parts of our city a place which is physically unsafe to live in and making it increasingly difficult to maintain little oases of decency and culture. We face not only bad people and bad children but *adults and children that reject the categories of bad and good.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

On January 3, 1953, in a survey of juvenile court records in most major cities, the Associated Press found that "since 1948 children are committing more and worse crimes" and that "the incidence of juvenile delinquency jumped after the Korean outbreak. . . . Housebreaking has been committed by children from 10 to 12 years of age. . . . Sex offences, burglaries and murders among children are rising." *Arrests of children in 1952 ran four times higher than in 1946, and narcotic arrests of teen-agers were 30 times higher.* It is estimated that two million American boys and girls under 18 are brought annually before the police for crimes ranging from robbery to murder. "More than 500,000 children were detained every year in adult jails, reported Dr. M. Elliott, of the Federal Children's Bureau,

"because there is no other place to put them and this forms a major step toward their further degradation." "So-called training schools for delinquents are social garbage cans," declared Charles W. Leonard, superintendent of the Illinois State Training Schools for Boys, intimating that they serve as a source of enrichment of corrupt politicians. States Attorney John Gutknecht of Chicago testified on November 23, 1953, that "police corruption is a big factor in juvenile delinquency."

Fascism and War Psychosis

When members of the Civil Rights Congress came to Jackson, Mississippi, to plead with its governor to commute the death sentence passed upon Willie McGee, the Jackson *Daily News*, attempting to incite the lynching of this delegation wrote: "Why the hell go to Korea to shoot Communists when the hunting is good on home ground?" This tie-up between the promotion of fascist brutality and the beating of war drums showed itself even more clearly in the death sentence meted out to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by Judge Kaufman. In issuing the vengeful sentence, the judge made the fantastic charge that the Rosenbergs were responsible for the American casualties in Korea.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were not convicted for having committed acts of espionage but on the charge of having "conspired to commit espionage." Many legal authorities, in the United States and elsewhere, as well as such eminent scientists as Dr. Harold Urey, made searching analyses of the government charge and exposed its hollowness. D. N. Pritt, the renowned British lawyer who led the international investigation of the Reichstag fire trial, showed that the prosecution's case against the Rosenbergs rested on the evidence of two F.B.I.-intimidated, unreliable witnesses, one of whom was threatened with the death penalty, and thus sought to save himself by implicating others.

Data uncovered later proved that the case was a hideous frame-up based on testimony of the kind obtained in the Dreyfus, Sacco-Vanzetti, and Scottsboro cases. In fact, the major part of the government's case was devoted to proving that the Rosenbergs were Communists, active unionists, that they read progressive books and periodicals, and that at one time they aided the exiled victims of Franco fascism. Yet, according to Supreme Court Justices Black, Douglas and Frankfurter, who favoured a rehearing, the Supreme Court *never reviewed the trial itself, never examined the evidence, never considered the propriety of the death sentence.*

The diabolic nature of the frame-up to execute the Rosenbergs was revealed by one simple fact: The Rosenbergs were sentenced on the same day that John J. McCloy, Eisenhower's closest adviser and then U.S. High Commissioner in Germany, granted a reprieve to General Gottlob Berger, one of Himmler's right-hand men, who had sent over 85,000 Jewish children to the Auschwitz crematorium. In appealing to President Eisenhower for clemency, Ethel Rosenberg wrote: "Today while these (Nazi) mass butchers, these obscene fascists are graciously receiving the benefits of mercy and in many instances being re-established to public office, the great democratic United States is proposing the savage destruction of a small, unoffending Jewish family whose guilt is seriously doubted throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world."

Mass appeals for clemency came from the entire civilized world. Foreign labour and government leaders added their voices. A torrent of protests flowed into Washington from tens of thousands of Americans. Despite everything, President Eisenhower insisted on speeding the execution of the parents of two small children.

Washington's ultimatum to the Rosenbergs was "confess or die". "To live they must talk," wrote the U.S. monopoly press. "The Rosenbergs must die unless they confess," declared even members of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union. Such was the effect of the

atom bomb war psychosis in creating the atmosphere for fascist murder.

The Rosenbergs died rather than provide Wall Street with the weapons it needed to hasten the coming of a fascist U.S.A. They would not buy their lives by betraying their country with an F.B.I.-dictated lie. Three years of death-cell torment could not coerce Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to bear false witness and to yield up their convictions to the warmakers.

Their execution killed the few illusions that the world still had about the American ruling class. Washington committed the crime in the full knowledge that it was flouting world opinion, that it would incur thereby the hatred and enmity of hundreds of millions throughout the world. But factors of greater portent loomed before the atomic war planners. The execution of the Rosenbergs stoked the fires of war and fascism on the home ground.

We have pointed before to some similarities between the ways of the U.S. trusts today and those of the German monopolists in 1933. Particularly parallel is their propaganda on the need to arm against the "Communist threat" in order to maintain world peace. "We don't threaten anyone," declared Hitler in 1938. "All we ask is to protect our rights and our freedom: all we want is a united, peaceful Europe and the elimination of the Communist danger." In almost the same words, Truman orated in 1950, "We don't threaten anyone; all we ask is freedom and observance of law; all we want is a united, peaceful world and the removal of the threat of Communist aggression." Goebbels in 1936: "The National Socialist movement is the bastion of West European culture and as such has declared a ruthless life and death struggle against Marxism;" Dulles in 1952: "Christianity and Western culture are in a life and death struggle with world Communism." Significantly, both Hitler Germany and the United States stubbornly refused to ratify international agreements prohibiting the bombing of civilian populations. Washington also refused to sign the clause

condemning genocide, sponsored by most members of the United Nations.

There are some differences, however. Wall Street's war ideology is more brazen. It even lacks the cover of plausibility. The Hitlerites inveigled millions of German unemployed workers and land-hungry peasants with promises of jobs, land and national salvation. Germany, they claimed, was fettered by the Versailles treaty and a "have-not" nation. But the U.S. imperialists in 1953 are calling for war while boasting of their riches and actually controlling the resources of half the world.

Another difference is the intensity of the war hysteria—the hymns to death, the glorification of mass destruction while screaming of imminent catastrophe by a "sudden enemy attack," etc. In the U.S.A. of 1950-53, all this surpasses anything that prevailed in Nazi Germany between 1933-39. The main reason for this difference lies in the close relationship between the drive to an anti-Soviet war and the drive to fascism; they are inseparable and one sparks the other. But U.S. fascism, unlike Nazism, lacks a mass following. The U.S. oligarchy seeks to make up for this lack by means of a bigger war hysteria—anticipating that growing militarization, war tension, atom bomb panic, spy scares and war madness in general will bring sufficient mass following for a *de facto* fascist U.S.A.

With the approach of mid-century, the Wall Street press became as if obsessed with certain words and images not unlike to what psychiatrists call echolalia—uncontrolled repetition of words. The usual words selected were "shot, killed, smashed, destroyed, murdered, dynamited." Column after column in a single issue of the staid *New York Times* was headed, "*New tanks exterminate... navy launches killer ... soldiers kill ... tanks blast ... kill reds ... sirens blast ... atomic death ... operation killer ... police chase killer ... fifty killed ... planes bomb ... gangsters shoot ... Turks hope to kill more reds ... Bush says A-bomb can kill forty million.*"

Life magazine carried pictures of children in the primary

grades being taught, "A is for atom; B is for bomb; C is for crash; D is for death." A 14-year-old Los Angeles schoolboy, it reported, was asked by his teacher to write a short composition. "The schoolboy," it wrote, "boldly picked it up and swung it like a sledge hammer. The boy wrote, 'The hydrogen bomb reeks with death. Death, death, a burning, scaring death, a death, horrible lasting death, the most horrible death man has invented. The destroying death of atomic energy. The poisoning, killing, destroying death. Death of the ages, the lasting death.'"

This macabre product of the radio, press and comic books typifies the remorseless, savage atmosphere of violence Wall Street seeks to foist upon the American people. To pervert the people's reasoning, newspapers and radio voices blend fact with fiction, hammering skilfully twisted words and ideas in a repetitive, machine-gun style. While atomic test sites rock with explosions, commentators vie with one another in estimating the scope of an atomic world massacre. Side by side with diagrams on "how we could obliterate the USSR," *Life* magazine pressed into the minds of its five million readers, "This is the age of obliteration. . . . There can be no compromise and no agreement with Soviet Communism. . . . We must put the issue of atomic obliteration before the U.S. people." *Time* and *Newsweek* clattered, "the job can be done. . . . Atomic stockpile, guns, tanks, planes are growing. . . . Tough-minded Eisenhower is encouraged."

The horror threats of the American atom-maniacs began to boomerang when the people learned that the Soviet Union, too, possessed the bomb. The panic-mongers became the victims of their own propaganda. To the lie of Soviet aggression was added the truth of Soviet atom- and hydrogen-bomb production. Wall Street's boast that "We can cremate half of the world" came home to roost. To millions of Americans this evoked a frightful image of devastation in their own land—only a fraction of half the world.

Some exclusive New York hotels consoled their clients that they need not fear atomic death. Air-conditioned

apartments were available 30 feet underground and at "only a \$15,000 yearly rental." "Our vaults are safe against atomic attack," announced President Aldrich of the Chase National Bank, as some panicky war profiteers rushed to bury their valuables in upstate New York mines, 200 feet below the surface of the earth. Some of them also equipped their homes with expensive, deep shelters. But all this did not calm parents, worried about the fate of their children. The millionaire vaults were too exclusive for America's children.

The fraud about an easy, inexpensive war could no longer be maintained. To get an entire nation to reject Soviet peace offers and accept atomic death instead, required wiping out the elementary drives by which men live, converting the country into a snakepit of insanity. This could not be done overnight. Soviet possession of "the bomb" thus upset Wall Street's time-table for war and fascism.

"I would be for using the atom bomb if it would not be accompanied by too great a moral reaction," declared General Eisenhower on March 11, 1951. His meaning was clarified when he added, "To my mind the use of the atom bomb would be on this basis: Does it advantage me or does it not, when I get into a war? If I thought the net gain was on my side I would use it instantly." But the happy days of Hiroshima were no more. The net was no longer on the side of the killers of women and children. They now feared the "moral reaction"—that is, the effect of Soviet retaliation.

Caught in this quandary, yet determined on no let-up in promoting war hysteria, the Wall Street psychological strategy board launched a double talk campaign—pointing in two directions at once.

One aspect of the campaign aimed to deceive the American people with suggestions that war provocations against the Soviet Union did not expose them to any great danger. The other portrayed the USSR as threatening the United States with annihilation; and that nothing but stockpiling of more bombs and preparations for all-out war (preferably preventive) could remove that menace. On February 14, 1951, Truman thus predicted that "Forty million Americans

can be wiped out in a sudden attack," and that "the nation faced this attack at any moment." Two days later, Acheson declared that "predictions of disaster are poppycock."

A fortnight later, Truman issued another warning that the nation faced a sudden devastating atomic attack. Defence chief M. F. Caldwell followed this up by saying, "The atomic bomb does not mean disaster at all." A month later he declared, "The billions spent on bomb shelters won't protect even one per cent of the American population." On January 27, 1953, ex-President Truman asserted that as far as he knew, the Soviet did not possess the atom bomb—a statement which stamped his previous declarations as utter falsehoods. The next day the Atomic Energy Commission repudiated his statement as ridiculous.

While provoking hysteria about possible annihilation, Washington, on August 17, 1952, cut civilian defence appropriations for bomb shelters, fire-fighting apparatus, and medical supplies from \$625 million to \$65 million. At the same time, civilian defence authorities were ordered to stage frequent city-wide atomic air raid rehearsals and to establish a system of spotters against "possible sneak Soviet atomic bomb raids." They also specified the number of doctors, nurses, hospital beds, and even the number of mass graves reserved for the expected atomic bomb casualties.

All this, Wall Street anticipates, will create intolerable strains and tensions, grim despair and bleak resignation. All this, plus growing armament burdens, it hopes, will convince the people that a third World War is inevitable. In sum, Wall Street's aim is to warp the people's peace sentiments to the point where they will, in the words of Gus Hall, jailed American peace fighter and Communist leader, "embrace the hallucination 'Let's get over it in a short atomic war and live happily ever after.'"

The U.S. ruling class has lashed the Negro people in America for over 300 years. It has caricatured their culture and suppressed much of their skill and talent. Yet hardly a fraction of the brutalities committed by that ruling class against the Negro people ever becomes widely known. Not

a day passes that Negroes are not the victims of racist brutality in the United States. The number of *legal* executions alone is revealing. Between 1930 and 1952, according to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, 3,219 men and women were executed in electric chairs and gas chambers. Negroes form about 10% of the total population of this country; but of the executed, 1,732 were Negro and 1,449 white—or 53.8% Negro to 45% white!

Domestic Proving Ground

In November 1951 the Civil Rights Congress, headed by William L. Patterson, petitioned the United Nations to intervene against the genocidal conspiracy of the U.S. monopolies against the Negro people. It presented a 240-page document, entitled *We Charge Genocide* containing massive evidence of genocide through terror, oppression, racist laws, the ghetto system, death from malnutrition and preventable diseases, mob violence, frame-ups, murders, and legal lynchings. All this, the report conclusively demonstrates, is part of a deliberate policy, of a plan to set one group of Americans against another, to keep the Negro people disfranchised and enslaved.

Genocidal practices are engineered and directed by the monopolies and executed by state power on every level. Their immediate and chief objective is to enable the monopolies to continue extracting billions in super-profits through the ruthless exploitation of Negro labour. Many Southern states, with large Negro populations, are undergoing a belated process of industrialization. Intensified exploitation of Negro workers provides the trusts with a whip against the white workers in the North to break unions, reduce wages, etc. The promotion of race hatred thus pays off in keeping down wages of both white and Negro workers. But racism is also part and parcel of fascist ideology. The vile theory of "inferior peoples" served the Nazi programme

of bestialization. Practices based on this theory serve the same end in the U.S.A.

In May and June 1951, the following brief, inconspicuous items appeared in various American newspapers. "Two chained and manacled Negro soldiers, Asman and Passman, were shot today. The sheriff claimed self-defence." Cartha Johnson, a Negro worker, lost both eyes from blows on the face while jailed for disobeying a white supremacy order. In Columbus, Georgia, police entered a Negro neighbourhood, beating and clubbing hundreds. A day later, Negroes on nearby Cheraw, South Carolina, were assaulted. In Florida, Negro homes were put to the torch by hooded night riders.

In Detroit, Charles Gordy was sentenced to life imprisonment for attempting to protect his son against illegal arrest. Henry Fields, a young Negro worker and father of four small children, was shot in cold blood by a white policeman in Brooklyn, New York. In Birmingham, Alabama, Negro homes were set on fire, and 400 were burned down in nearby Fairfield. Firemen, it was reported, stood by, watching the inferno. On the same day, a mob in Norfolk, Virginia, forced Joseph Mann, a Negro clergyman, into a car, poured gasoline over him and set him on fire for having spoken against the segregation of Negroes. He died three days later from horrible burns.

Negroes are frequently framed on charges of "rape." Typical is the case of Mack Ingram, a 44-year-old Negro sharecropper of Yanceyville, North Carolina and father of nine children, who was arrested on a white girl's charge that he assaulted her. When he was brought to trial at the Caswell County Courthouse on June 18, 1951, reported *Newsweek*, his attorney asked the girl, "Had Ingram touched you?" "No." "Did he speak to you?" "No." "What did he do?" "He looked at me." "Just how close did he ever get to you?" "About 75 feet." Judge Ralph O. Vernon sentenced Ingram to two years on a road gang for attempted assault on a female. A "liberal" judge indeed for North Carolina! Accused of a similar "assault," two young Negroes,

Raleigh Speller and Clyde Brown, were executed on May 28, 1953, in North Carolina's gas chamber.

Fifty-three foreign exchange students, brought to the United States for an orientation course labelled "democracy in action," had to cancel their tour of the South because they had two dark-skinned Panamanian students among them and the Tennessee law forbids "the staying together of white and coloured in any hotel or college campus." The body of Pfc. Thomas C. Reed, killed at the age of 19 in the campaign for "democracy" in Korea, was refused burial for five weeks in a Phoenix, Arizona cemetery because he was a Negro. The cemetery was "open" to white Americans only. The intervention of a dozen national organizations proved of no avail.

In the summer of 1951, a Negro couple and their three children attempted to escape from the Chicago Negro ghetto by moving into nearby Cicero. To prevent this, nearly 10,000 young people were brought into action, many of them organized by the police. The Negro couple had moved their belongings, bought with their entire savings after years of toil, into the apartment they had rented. *Time* and *News-week* magazines described the ensuing events almost ecstatically. "The Negro was kicked, beaten with sticks and clubs and pistol butts by more than 50 policemen." Then the mob "tore out the doors and window-jambs, gouged out holes in the wall, ripped out light fixtures, plumbing, smashed the radiators, a refrigerator and a stove." For good measure, "they ripped up two apartments below, the tenants having long fled. Then, out of the third floor window and to the accompaniment of cheers from the crowd, went all of Clark's furniture, including a piano and a baby carriage. As the mass of furniture was set afire, the cheers grew louder." The crowd was "good-natured," remarked *Time*, "as if going to a game, and the cops acted like ushers politely handling an overflow at a football stadium." *

* In the summer of 1953 mobs of hoodlums partly wrecked a Chicago housing project where Negroes were moving in. On September 9, 1953, 18 Negro men, women and children were burned to death in one of Chicago's Negro Ghetto slum firetrap dwellings.

In New York it was brought to light that a deal existed between the city Police Department and the U.S. Justice Department to overlook and leave unpunished brutalities committed against Negroes by policemen.

The legal lynching of Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven* in 1951 became widely known because there was time to organize for their defence. Here were eight young Negro men, condemned to death on the trumped-up charge of having committed a sex offence against a white woman. In no civilized country in the world was anybody ever punished for rape by the death penalty. No white man was ever put to death on that charge in the United States. Even if the charges were true, millions asked, how could any decent human being conceive of a justice that would take the lives of eight human beings for this alleged crime? Even the reactionary Paris *Franc-Tireur* wrote, "It is unbelievable that a civilized country will allow justice to be dishonoured by putting it at the service of the most primitive and bestial hatred."

In the U.S., the Civil Rights Congress, together with many people's organizations, carried on a heroic struggle to prevent their execution. They appealed to the president and the Supreme Court to reverse the death sentences. Negro and white delegations pleaded with judges and governors of Mississippi and Virginia to save the eight innocent men. Tens of thousands of letters of protests, these governors admitted, poured into their offices. There were 42 petitions from the French National Assembly, as well as appeals from the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. In India, China, Italy, France and Australia, the death sentences were denounced at meetings and demonstrations. From all parts of the world, numerous priests, scholars, intellectuals and public leaders addressed the White House, pleading for the lives of these men.

McGee had already been tortured for over six years.

* Martinsville, in West Virginia, is a town entirely owned by the du Pont Chemical trust.

Ten times during these years he was scheduled to die in the electric chair and ten times saved at the very last moment through the sustained action of America's progressive forces. An anxious world awaited a sign, if not of justice, then at least of some deference to public opinion. For how, many people asked, could the American ruling class present this spectacle of eight lynchings in broad daylight?

Moreover, here were 15 million American Negro people, whose sympathy the American military sought to gain the better to utilize them as cannon fodder in Korea and elsewhere. Nothing was more obvious than that this wanton, racist crime would sear the Negro masses with a still fiercer hatred for their white oppressors. Here too were the aroused hundreds of millions of people in the colonial countries, before whom the American oligarchy sought to daub itself with its new "freedom and democracy" make-up. "Why throw them on the side of communism by executing the eight Negroes?" cynically asked some of Washington's liberal advisers.*

But no word or nod came from the Wall Street oligarchy to judge or President to prevent this infamy. They brushed aside all protests, turned a deaf ear to the pathetic cries of the wives and children of the condemned and to the voice of the Negro people. One by one, the eight innocent Negroes were led to the electric chair and executed.

These legal lynchings, like the execution of the Rosenbergs, are part of the design for a fascist America. But they also reflect the heightened ruling class fear of the world peace forces, its fear of the Negro people's fight-back movement and the growing sentiment among the Negro masses to smash the ghetto walls.

* Every so often some "wise" defenders of imperialism inadvertently reveal this dilemma of the oppressor class. L. Margolin wrote in the *New York Times* on July 18, 1951, "The Cicero incident is the equivalent of the American loss of a billion dollars worth of prestige in the East. . . . It completely nullifies years of work of the U.S. Information Service...."

The American monopolies openly willed these gory killings and regardless of the eventual boomerang. To have yielded to world opinion, to mass pressure, to have stayed the executions and "merely" condemned the victims to life imprisonment, they evidently reasoned, would have been regarded as a "dangerous" set-back. It would have slowed the pace toward war and fascism. It would have undermined the lynch system. In this way the masters of a social system whose days are numbered become blinded to consequences of their crimes and write their own epitaph.

Asian Proving Ground

Qualitatively, all imperialist violence in this century has been similar. The deeds of a General Dyer in India in 1919 are being repeated in 1953 in Malaya by Generals Briggs and Templer.* Attempting to fix for all time the slave status of millions, the wise men of Wall Street or London act no more wisely than the Hitlers or Hirohitos. To suppress the Korean national independence movement, the Japanese in 1919, by their own admission, killed 360,261 Koreans. Between 1950 and 1953, the Americans killed three million. What has changed is not the nature but the magnitude of the violence.

The crimes of the Pentagon in Korea were foreshadowed by the acts of its air forces in Europe and Asia in World War II. With utter contempt for human life they killed hundreds of thousands of women and children in the atom bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima and in indiscriminate bombing of large cities in Germany, Italy and France. They

* On April 13, 1919, General Reginald E. H. Dyer, in command of British troops at Amritsar, India, ordered the massacre of thousands of unarmed men, women and children gathered in the enclosures of Jallianwala Bagh. With no opportunity to escape or defend themselves, the people were mowed down by machine-gun fire. The wounded were left to die, while guards prevented all aid from reaching them.

carefully left intact, however, 70% to 80% of Hitler's war factories. In Milan and other Italian cities American planes bombed workers' neighbourhoods, claiming many children as victims, even after all military resistance in these cities had already collapsed.*

The Korean people never committed any act of aggression against the United States. U.S. troops were dispatched to Korea ostensibly "to save the Korean people from themselves"—to protect "freedom-loving democrats" like Syngman Rhee from being ruled by Communist Koreans. But there, even more than the German imperialists in Spain in 1936, Wall Street gave final and conclusive testimony about itself and its anti-communist slogans.

Military censorship allowed only a few stray items to reach the American people about the atrocities in Korea—and these only to create the impression that the atrocities were committed by troops of the puppet Syngman Rhee. Thus, on April 10, 1951, George Barrett, *New York Times* correspondent cabled, "More than 300 bullet-riddled corpses of men, women and children are all that are left of a community. . . . A village of the dead, one thousand of the population of 1,400 were killed here four weeks ago. Korean newspapers have received direct orders to publish nothing about the Shim Um massacre, because of the unfavourable publicity that accompanied the wave of government executions in Seoul last December. . . . South Korean soldiers marched into the town, killing methodically men, women and children, as they tried to get out of the way of bullets." He also wrote of American soldiers on the alert, squeezing the trigger and shooting women with children, and "infantry men resting from a short break, putting matches to peasant homes to warm up."

John Osborne, *Life* correspondent, carefully avoided mentioning the role of the U.S. military, referring to "the blotting out of villages, the shooting and shelling of refu-

* With tens of thousands of planes at its disposal, the Soviet High Command never sent them on missions of death against the German civilian population.

gees" as "*savagery by proxy, savagery by South Korean police. . . . They murder to save themselves the trouble of escorting prisoners to the rear. They murder civilians simply to get them out of the way, or to avoid the trouble of of searching and cross-examining them. And they extort information by means so brutal that they cannot be described.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

A few conservative British and French newspapers, frightened by what an American-led war might have in store for their own countries, published more detailed accounts. Some of their correspondents even dared to indicate that the atrocities were committed by Americans, and that they surpassed in gruesomeness Hitlerite savagery in Eastern Europe.

On September 17, 1950, Frank Robertson cabled to the London *Observer*, "U.S. airmen dropped 200,000 gallons of napalm. . . . With the exception of a few shanties, there is not a building that has escaped destruction in Chan. . . . Mangled human bodies whose bloody shape bore little resemblance to the human form . . . dead horses beside dead children." *The New Statesman and Nation*, on September 9, 1950, quoted American Pfc. Kimball, a truck driver from Texas, as saying, "Have you seen what those lousy bastards (the men of the U.S. Air Force) are doing? Have you seen the villages miles from anything like a military objective flat as a field? Have you seen them shooting peasants working in the fields and strafing little cottages not big enough to hold a cow?"

On November 25, 1950, Alex Valentine, Reuters correspondent, cabled from Seoul, "The people were taken to an open field near their homes and ordered to kneel. Volley after volley rang out. After each burst of firing the screams of the wounded and frightened grew louder. The leader admitted ordering the massacre because he was certain that all the adults were Communist agents. The children, he said, had been included because their parents were Communists, and therefore, when they grew up, they too would

be Communists." Similar accounts appeared in November 1950 in the London *Daily Mirror*.

The MacArthur forces reached the highest peaks of barbarism after their December 1950 defeat. In their rage they spared nothing, burning, looting, killing and reducing to ashes everything in their path. The Associated Press boasted, "The fires of Seoul could be seen more than 100 miles." The A.D.N. news agency reported, "We were in Singisiu. . . . On this city of 120,000, American flying fortresses threw 90,000 incendiary bombs. The city became a burning torch. There was no escape out of the ring of fire closing in. Mothers threw themselves in the fire to save their children and found death in the flames. Those that managed to get on the road, American planes killed with machine guns. . . . Tens of thousands of children's bodies and women were buried under the ruins. There is a terrible smell of burnt flesh. Grandfathers and infants were burnt alive, cremated. Ninety per cent of the city is destroyed. All the parks, all the theatres, libraries, schools, all that took a generation of love and devotion to build . . . went up in flames."

Before withdrawing from Pyongyang, the Americans dynamited every school and institute. Pyongyang's modern university and polytechnical school, its 125 elementary and high schools, nine theatres, 21 cinemas, the opera building, museums and temples, some dating from the fifteenth century, were demolished by the retreating U.S. troops. Many invaluable historical art treasures, ancient books, paintings and murals were thus destroyed. Korea's biggest libraries, including the Central State Library, were put to the torch. Time bombs were placed in various buildings to prevent putting out the fires. The city burned for two days.

From Pusan, the very hub of the "American way of life" in South Korea, George Barrett reported, "Death is an informal affair among the 460,000 refugees squeezed in here. . . . Nobody is concerned with the death figures. Military authorities sometimes have to request Korean govern-

ment officials to remove the dead from the streets where they have fallen and been apparently forgotten."

Charles Favrel, writing in the conservative Paris *Le Monde* referred to this "American camp where close to half a million men, women and children were kept under heavy guard without food or clothing" as "the kingdom of the dead." "What I have seen is outside the range of normal human values. There was Buchenwald, there was Dachau, what I have seen was neither Buchenwald nor Dachau; in hideousness, it was both less and more. ... Over 400,000 starved human beings in a snake pit ... babies, their little faces just bones. Sick people groaning in continual agony. ... Add to all that horror the evocation of Dante's Inferno ... that long cry of famine rattling in the throat like a curse, and the indifference of the Americans, and you will know all about that twentieth century monstrosity." After visiting the battlefront, he wrote on January 29, 1951, "The road is lined with thousands of bodies of children and women, grimacing, frozen faces, lightly covered by the snow-fall the night before. Dead children still hugging their mothers, and everywhere the stench of American napalm bombs." He reported the American military as saying, "If we have to kill ten civilians in order to kill one soldier who later on might shoot at us, we are justified."

In an S.O.S. to the United Nations, Favrel appealed for aid for those innocent victims. He also appealed to Washington. The reply came through MacArthur, who declared that "Aid to civilians in South Korea was functioning correctly."

Even South Koreans pressed into military service fared no better. The *Herald Tribune* on June 12, 1951, reported that the chairman of the South Korean National Assembly, Sun Min Ho, charged that "50,000 South Korean draftees had died of disease, starvation and inhuman treatment in the U.S.-established training camps. Of the 350,000 that survived, 80% are physical wrecks, incapable of labour." In Tokyo, General Ridgway declared, "This was purely an internal matter of the Korean government."

In May 1951, a fact-finding commission of the Women's International Democratic Federation, representing 17 countries, visited North Korea. On July 4, 1951, it issued a seven-chapter, minutely-documented report, which began with the declaration, "We women of different countries, of different nationalities, of different religious beliefs, of different political views, some of us members of different political parties and others with no party affiliations, had a common task before us: to tell conscientiously and truthfully to the women who have delegated us to this commission, the facts as we have seen them. All of the facts given below, the figures and other data mentioned in this document, have been recorded personally by members of this commission. These facts are all in accordance with the evidence members saw with their own eyes."

After examining the evidence and hearing the accounts of hundreds of witnesses, Nora K. Rodd of Canada, Monica Felton of England, Eva Priester of Austria, Ida Bachman and Kate Heron Jacobsen of Denmark, T. Soenito Heylighers of Holland, Lilly Wachter of Western Germany, Gillette Ziegler of France, Ben Seliman of Tunisia, Abassia Fodil of Algeria, Germain Hannevard of Belgium, Elizabeth Gallo of Italy, and others, reported the following:

"We inspected the large mass of graves near the towns of Sinchan and Anak where 42,302 people were murdered. ... One large pit was filled with adult bodies, the other with children. ... Besides the remains of the bodies we could see the ropes with which the people were bound together; also, tufts of women's hair, children's shoes. ... In another mass grave we saw 8,000 people who had been burned to death after their clothes had been soaked with petrol. ... In the Whang Hai province alone, 230,000 were thus slaughtered by the American, British and Syngman Rhee forces. We saw dozens of Oswiecims and Maidaneks. ... Before the Americans evacuated Sinchon, 479 people imprisoned in a cave had petrol poured over them and were burned alive. In another and larger section of the cave more than 1,000 were killed by machine-gunning.

Seven of her eight sons, declared Chaichun Ok, aged 65, were shot there. 'They came to our towns and killed everyone here.' ... In a storehouse outside the town, 300 women and children were burned alive.

"Based on accounts of the many witnesses in Nampho and Kangse, we can state that the Americans arrested people for the following 'crimes': For being patriots, for having relatives in the people's army, for belonging to the peasants' union or other democratic organizations, such as the consumers' cooperative, or for having relatives who belonged to these. ... Kim San Yen stated that he had expected that the Americans, who were a Christian people, would behave well. He could not imagine they would be able to commit such atrocities. But his entire family of 12 persons had been arrested, bound with ropes and buried alive."

To spare the reader, we have omitted some even more horrifying atrocities enumerated in the report. The main conclusions reached by the commission were that "the people of Korea are being subjected by the American occupants to a merciless and methodical campaign of extermination; that the mass tortures and mass murders surpass the crimes committed by the Nazis."

To this and to similar other reports, MacArthur and his Rhee henchman replied: "The executed were said to be Communist sympathizers. ... Henceforth executions will be carried out individually and not on the group principle and in a more humane manner."

Meanwhile, the atrocities sickened many British soldiers. John Collins of Reuters reported on December 20, 1951, "Bitterness among British troops in Korea over the shooting of women and children reached a new height tonight. ... Northumberland Fusileers stood by ready to prevent the executions scheduled for this morning." Even the reactionary Archbishop of York, in a letter to the *London Times*, wrote: "If these barbarous executions continue, all sympathy with South Korea will vanish."

Unruffled, the Pentagon men at first simply denounced all reports and documents as wild, baseless rumours. But

as the evidence became overwhelming their propaganda apparatus resorted to the old Hitler trick of placing the guilt on the victims.

In June 1942, the German fascists stepped up the fires of the Birkenau, Oswiecim, Tremblinka and Maidanek crematoria to consume the bodies of 30,000 men, women and children daily. As the odour of burned human flesh revealed to the world the nature of Krupp and company's "Western civilization," Goebbels countered by declaring, "It is the Russians who don't value human life," and fabricated the Katyn forest "Russian atrocities." Following the same tradition, the Pentagon men claimed that "the Chinese and North Koreans don't value life; they send teen-age children marching ahead of military columns." Then, on May 3, 1951, they charged in the U.N., through Syngman Rhee, that the Soviet Union, China and North Korea had conspired to commit mass murder and destroy the Korean nation! The mass exterminator invoked the convention against genocide! (Simultaneously, a Congressional committee was established to revive Goebbels' monstrous Katyn forest lie.)

Even more in November, 1953, the Pentagon released an atrocity report wherein it declared that 6,113 American soldiers were "probably" the victims of atrocities. The report was based on the uncorroborated charges made by General Hanley and Ridgway. But on November 17, 1952, the Washington *Times-Herald* and *Chicago Tribune* cited a "top Pentagon authority" as having flatly stated: "Army Headquarters has no conclusive evidence of atrocities or other barbaric acts committed by Chinese Reds in the Korean war." When the Pentagon rehashed these charges in November 1953 the *U.S. News & World Report* frankly declared that the charges of atrocities will "make it harder for Communist China" to be admitted to the U.N.

Testimony on Germ Warfare

On March 8, 1952, the Chinese People's Republic issued a formal protest against Washington's use of bacteriological

warfare. It presented the dates and locations on which U.S. planes had dropped insects infected with disease-spreading bacteria. It furnished photograph of the containers and detailed confessions by Kenneth L. Enoch and John Quinn, first lieutenants in the U.S. Air Force, who declared they had taken part in these raids between February 29 and March 5, 1952. This testimony was subsequently confirmed by two other captured Air Corps men—Col. Frank H. Schwable, wing chief of staff, and Major Roy H. Bley, ordnance officer. "The primary aim," they declared on December 6, 1952, was "to set up a cholera, yellow fever and typhus contamination belt in North Korea." On returning to the United States some of these officers later repudiated their testimony, claiming that they furnished it under the duress of their Chinese captors.

However, the following circumstances, as well as the testimony of other witnesses, would indicate that the original statements by the air corps men were not based on inventions. In 1925, 41 nations, including the USSR, England and France, signed the Geneva Protocol banning bacteriological warfare. Only two countries failed to ratify the treaty—the United States and Japan. In 1946, President Truman withdrew it from further consideration in the Senate. Washington also obstructed efforts by various nations to have the U.N. declare bacteriological warfare a crime against humanity.

Since 1943, U.S. expenditures for developing bacteriological warfare totalled many millions. In 1946, Washington hired Ishii Shiro (who in 1942-44 directed Japan's biological warfare against China), as well as specialists from Hitler's biological warfare command, such as Dr. Wilenning, Heinz Klug, Walter Schreiber, and others.*

* Registering its protest, a committee of the *New York County Medical Society*, in a statement published on May 20, 1952, declared that Dr. Schreiber, who was appointed on October 6, 1951 by the U.S. government to the faculty of the U.S. Air Force School of Aviation Medicine, was chief bacteriologist for the German high command. According to the Medical Society's report, his victims

U.S. military spokesmen praised the use of bacteria and chemical poisons. "I believe biological warfare to be a practical form of warfare and that it has great possibilities," declared General Alden H. Waitt, Chief of the U.S. Army Chemical Warfare Service, on June 15, 1946. On April 9, 1951, *Newsweek* reported, "Look for news of the secret mission of a navy epidemic control laboratory ship to Wonsan harbour on the East Coast of North Korea, where the navy has maintained a lengthy siege. Navy landing parties have been grabbing up numbers of Chinese Reds from the tiny island of the harbour and taking them back to the ship where they are tested for symptoms of the dread bubonic plague!" General MacAuliffe, on October 31, 1951, declared, "Biological warfare represents an ideal diversionary weapon because it can be used unnoticed. We can give the impression that death or illness arises from natural causes."

The Biological Weapons Commission of the International Association of Lawyers, headed by Heinrich Brandweiner, well-known Austrian Catholic Professor of Canon and International Law, after a thorough spot investigation in China and Korea, reported that, the U.S. forces in Korea dispersed flies and insects artificially infected with bacteria; that the U.S. Army also used poison gas bombs and other chemical substances.*

Frederic Joliot-Curie, Nobel prize-winner, declared in a letter to U.N. delegate Warren Austin, "The facts as they

in concentration camps were subjected to mass sterilization, burning with incendiary bombs or mustard gas, shootings with poisoned bullets or injections with disease germs.

* Hanson Baldwin wrote, "Our record is very far from clean. We condemned the Japanese for their alleged use of biological warfare against the Chinese, yet in July and August 1945, a shipload of U.S. biological agents for use in destruction of the Japanese rice crop was en route to the Marianas." On April 6, 1952, the *New York Herald Tribune* quoted Major General E. T. Bullen, chief of the Chemical Corps, as saying that "means of delivering germs to enemy territory involve equipment of the type with which the services are already well-stocked, such as containers used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets."

have been verified and reported to me show that bacteriological warfare is now being carried on." After visiting China, Reverend James Endicott, for 20 years a missionary in China, described the finding of infected insects, anthrax-laden flies and spiders.

In September 1952, an international scientific commission of world-renowned Swedish, French, British, Italian, Brazilian and other biologists, bacteriologists and pathologists, completed a series of extensive investigations in China and North Korea. Dr. Joseph Needham, Professor of Biochemistry at Cambridge University, headed the investigating commission. Their official report consists of 19 chapters and 46 appendices, totalling some 300,000 words. It contained a painstaking analysis of numerous facts and documents which they had subjected to a searching and impartial study. The United States, the report of these eminent scientists concluded, was waging bacteriological warfare.

Koje

In April 1952, the Red Cross issued a report which was published in the *Revue Internationale de la Croix Rouge* of Geneva but suppressed by the entire U.S. press with the exception of the *Daily Compass*, *National Guardian* and *Daily Worker*. The report showed that the U.S. military screened and re-screened Korean prisoners of war by means of terror and shootings. A correspondent of the *London Observer* reported that Chiang Kai-shek agents were at work in the prisoner-of-war camp on Kojé Island, meting out brutal treatment to the prisoners. He wrote that these guards "imposed sentences that ranged from beatings to torture, to death by hanging. There have been more than 80 such executions. Beatings and tortures are nightly occurrences in many of the compounds."

In one such re-screening operation, carried out by Col. Fitzgerald on February 8, 1952, 69 prisoners of war were

killed and 142 wounded in the Koje camp. This was admitted by the Pentagon. Col. Fitzgerald was then replaced by General F. T. Dodd, later captured by the prisoners, who demanded an end to the torture and killing that attended the forcible screenings. General Colsen, who replaced Dodd, gave the prisoners a written promise that they would receive better treatment. On May 10, 1952, he declared, "I do admit that there have been instances of bloodshed where many prisoners of war have been killed and wounded. . . . I can assure you that in the future prisoners of war can expect humane treatment in this camp, according to the principles of international law." Colsen was promptly removed from his post, and the killing of those who demanded repatriation was resumed on an even-larger scale.

Unable to get the Korean and Chinese war prisoners to join the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek armies by "ordinary" methods of torture, the U.S. military began to "re-educate" them with bullets, hand grenades and flame-throwers. Failing to win a decisive victory on the battlefield, Ridgway, Clark and Van Fleet engaged in fighting disarmed prisoners of war. In one such operation on Koje they sent 6,000 armed troops in a pre-dawn raid against the unarmed war prisoners. Proudly, these "knights of freedom" released communiques on their heroic feats. The *New York Times* on June 10, 1952, reported: "Some of the grenades were lobbed squarely inside the prison camp, and the wooden buildings erupted in smoke and flame. The troops, swinging axes, punched holes in the sides of the buildings and then forced in concussion grenades upon the tightly-packed prisoners. Many were killed or seriously injured in this manner. Soon the ground was covered with bayonet-torn captives. Brigadier General Thomas J. Trappnell was in direct command of the assault. Prisoners in the trenches were bayoneted in their holes."

Additional operations, some of them supported by tanks, took place on 11 subsequent days.

"Koje is a name whose infamy will echo through the pages of history, in company with Dachau, Nordhausen and

Buchenwald," wrote Sergeant C. Dean Chase, from Salt Lake City, Utah, in an open letter to General Mark W. Clark on June 11, 1952 (for which he was court-martialed). "Your action is among the most repugnant and disgraceful acts against the decency of man."

According to the U.S. Army communiques, the wounding and killing of hundreds of unarmed prisoners of war took place on September 17, 1951, on February 18, March 13, April 10, May 15 and 30, June 2, 3 and 10, October 1 and 31, 1952, on Koje, on Cheju Island, and in mainland camps. On December 16, 1952, the *New York Times* reported that "82 prisoners were killed and 122 injured on Pongan Island off the South Korean coast." The conservative London *Sunday Despatch* described the massacres as "the most terrible in history."

The U.S. press justified the slaughter of May 30, 1952, on the ground that "some prisoners were trying to pass inter-compound messages." The massacres of October 2 and December 17, 1952 took place because "Chinese prisoners were singing Communist songs in violation of official orders." "Fifty-two Chinese Communists," reported the Associated Press on October 2, 1952, "were killed yesterday morning and 113 were wounded by two platoons of U.S. soldiers sent into the prison compound on Cheju Island." There, too, Chinese prisoners were singing while celebrating the third anniversary of their People's Republic. A cable to the *New York Times* on December 17, 1952 read: "Prisoners linked arms and began to sing their forbidden songs—the song of the Red Soldiers and the song of the Declaration of Independence of North Korea. . . . Troops were rushed with fixed bayonets and loaded rifles just below the singing soldiers. Colonel Miller was at their head. He ordered American troops to fire one round with shotguns at the prisoners. The round was fired, but the singing now had been taken up by all the compounds and became more frenzied. The colonel ordered another round fired. The singing continued. Colonel Miller ordered 50 South Korean soldiers and 40 Americans to fire with rifles and carbines

into the massed ranks of in compound F. At the same time, a big calibre machine-gun was fired from a nearby tower into compound B. . . . When one of the prisoners fell under the withering machine-gun and small arms fire, others would drag him back to his feet, and he would continue to sing Communist songs. Later, they continued to sing while lying wounded on the ground. Some still were singing hours later when they were placed on the operating tables in the hospital."

After wounding and killing a total of 2,000 Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war, after massacring millions of North Korean women and children in wanton napalm raids, Washington declared, "Our conscience and our moral standards prevent us from turning over Chinese and Korean prisoners of war who turned anti-Communist. We must save them from probable persecutions or certain death on returning to the North." Such was the obscene and cruel farce Washington staged to keep the war going, to brutalize the soldiers and deaden the conscience of the American people to fascist terror.

Strategy of Failure

People throughout the world asked pointed questions. Doesn't reaction ever learn anything from history? Did massacres ever save doomed oligarchies? Did the slaughter of the Communards by Thiers and Bismark in 1871 destroy the French and European working class movement? Did Hitlerite atrocities weaken the fighting spirit of the Red Army? What military aims could these atrocities have achieved? Why did Americans machine-gun fleeing women and children, starve countless innocent people in concentration camps? What purpose did it serve to expose before the peoples of the entire world all this infinite brutality? The Wall Street military—lest we forget—committed their Guernicas, Lidices, Oradours, and Coventrys after the

Nuremberg trials, *after* mankind had rejected the "military necessity" alibi of the incendiaries, *after* humanity had passed judgement on the executioners of innocent women and children.

Perhaps the Pentagon's inability to wrest a military victory had something to do with it. Their rage against the Korean people's resistance seemed boundless. They continued the bombing of cities long in ashes, like Wonsan and others, for 300 days in succession. On Pyongyang alone the U.S. air force dropped 1,500,000 bombs, four bombs for each man, woman and child in that city. Essentially they were aiming to blow up and erase the entire peninsula and its 30 million inhabitants.

The real reasons, however, lie elsewhere. We know that in the past many long and bitter wars were unattended by the large-scale extermination of peoples. The struggle took place between armies, and the aim was conquest through military victory. As weapons became more destructive, the Hague and Geneva Conventions were established for the mutual protection of the combatants. Such "gentlemanly" wars, however, were carried on between the imperialists themselves; but not when they warred against the people. For the struggle of a people opposing enslavement is a continuous one. Here, because of the people's mass resistance purely military tactics alone prove indecisive. And to eliminate this resistance, the imperialists seek to crush the people as a whole. Thus, in the period of its general crisis, imperialism's daily violence against the people finally extends to a drive toward their large-scale extermination.

The bestiality of imperialism's terminal stage is also conditioned by other factors. One of the chief weaknesses of modern imperialist armies engaged in an anti-people's war is their lack of morale. Impelled by the drive for maximum profits, Wall Street cannot provide its troops with any morale based on human values. Its troops do not know why they must kill or get killed. Lies take considerable time to sink in and usually crumble after the blind-tool

soldier meets with adversities and begins to think or ask questions. Eight thousand miles away, the average American had never seen a Korean, or even knew, before the war, just where the country is located. Many American soldiers openly expressed scepticism or indignation at Washington's claim of North Korean aggression.

The U.S. military obviously could no longer rely on soldiers capable of clear thinking or on those still possessing a vestige of conscience or moral principle. "Much of this is alien to the American tradition and shocking to the American mind," wrote John Osborn. To attempt to win this war is to "force upon our men in the field acts and attitudes of the utmost savagery." Charles Favrel, in an open letter to "Mr. Smith" in the French Catholic Review, *Esprit*, wrote: "Mr. Smith, I have seen the GIs at work and I will tell you how they went about it. In Korea they know no pity. They think themselves a superior race and treat the 'natives' like filthy dogs." What the imperialists wanted was an army of looters and assassins. An army whose savagery evokes horror and hatred, eliminates the danger of possible human ties between the soldier and the people, and of emotions which may weaken his efficiency as a killing tool.

The atrocities were designed to harden the soldiers to become morally impervious. A soldier loaded with crimes begins to regard his own survival as dependent on further crimes. Even the silent contempt of women and children throws him into paroxysms of fear, rousing him to further acts of violence.

This reeling into savagery, this systematic brutalization of soldiers in the field together with the creation of an attitude of indifference at home boomerangs in the end. Among the Hitlerite officers and enlisted men, bestiality not only dulled their human emotions, but also degenerated their consciousness, their essence as human beings. A fighting morale which rests only on the capacity to kill others rapidly disintegrates when faced with the just wrath of a people's

army. Yesterday's killer turns into a whinnying coward. The terrorizer becomes the victim of his own terror.

Yet the American monopolists continue to act as though deafened by the sound of their own fury. Hypnotized by their vision of world rule, they are oblivious to the fact that they are walking in the footsteps of the doomed. For the lesson of history is obvious enough: Violence directed against the majority of the people is self-defeating. "Of all the seeds soaked up by the earth," wrote Balzac, "the blood spilled by martyrs yields the quickest harvests." This lesson was never as clear as today.

Chapter VII

Part Three

The Deepening Chasm : People Versus Warmakers

CAPITALIST WAR PREPARATIONS have always been marked by a stepped up impoverishment of the majority of the people on the one hand, and the amassing of huge fortunes by a tiny minority on the other. The staggering requirements of modern war have extended the range of these fortunes as well as the scale of the burdens and sacrifices the people are called upon to shoulder. Sooner or later this contradiction greatly intensifies all the existing conflicts and antagonisms between the rulers and the ruled.

In the period of the general crisis, war preparations are associated with an even more crucial development. Major wars can no longer be conducted or victory be achieved simply by means of mobilizing troops and the piling up of armaments. Such wars now require the full support of the entire population, above all of the working masses. However, instead of voluntary support, wars of aggression now evoke mass discontent and opposition. The oligarchy seeks to surmount it by imposing a rule of fear and terror. This explains why every step to war is paralleled by a step toward fascism. Like Siamese twins, neither can advance without the other.

Fascism is a means to an end, the end being war and

maximum profits for the big corporations. This being the case, the process of fascization must *precede* the unleashing of a war of aggression. For this reason the German, Italian, and Japanese trusts established regimes of fascist terror *before* they harnessed the masses as cannon-fodder.

The American monopolists now find themselves in a similar situation. They cannot start another war without first bridling the American working class, without first abolishing civil rights and democratic people's organizations and wielding absolute authority for wringing compliance from the nation as a whole.

A Major Dilemma

But the outstanding fact about the present situation in the U.S.A. is the wide gap between Wall Street's desire to impose an outright fascist regime upon America and its ability thus far to do so. Undoubtedly, this is because the United States differs in many vital respects from both Germany and Japan. For one thing, its bourgeois-democratic traditions are sturdier, more deeply rooted, and more difficult to overthrow. Also, the example of Hitlerite Germany itself has served as a warning to millions of Americans.

Hence, Wall Street cannot follow as direct a road toward fascism as did the Ruhr cartelists. It must camouflage fascist measures with slogans of protecting liberty, equality, the Constitution, and even pose as an apostle of peace. Employing indirect methods, it is entangling the nation in a web of "emergency" laws, making certain strikes virtually illegal, and attempting to outlaw progressive organizations. True, this represents a more cunning demagoguery than that of the Nazis. However, such "half-measures" fail to produce either storm troopers or docile cannon-fodder. Quasi-fascism may suffice for "little" Korean wars, but not for a war in which burdens and casualties would be immensely greater.

A super-Reichstag fire on an international scale, the American monopolists know, would offer them the opportunity for a transition to full-scale fascism. Indeed, much of their impatience to launch a war against the Soviet Union is based on their awareness that this would enable them to establish simultaneously a full-blown military fascist dictatorship. But how embark on such a war without *first* bridling the workers, without *first* rivetting the chains of fascist enslavement, without *first* welding the nation into a more or less compact, regimented "blood and iron" community capable of endless sacrifices?

Such is their vexing dilemma. It arises out of the rather stubborn fact that the vast majority of the American people, despite subjection to almost eight years of relentless anti-Soviet propaganda, still refuse to accept either war or fascism as inevitable.

Of course, the utterances of America's right-wing labour leaders give a different impression. The A.F.L. leadership came out for war against China. The Dubinskys and Reuthers endorsed the Truman Doctrine, the Atlantic Pact, the slaughter in Greece and Korea. The Careys came out for a united front with fascism even before Truman did. But one could make no greater error than to identify the views of these labour chieftains with those of the rank-and-file. These big business underlings, whom John L. Lewis, himself a political conservative, characterized as "ready to sell the labour movement and trade unions for a White House lunch," no more reflect the sentiments of America's workers than members of Eisenhower's cabinet.

Nevertheless, American workers are still relatively backward politically. For a long time classes in America, as Marx put it, were "in constant flux and reflux, constantly changing their elements and yielding them up to one another.... The feverishly youthful life of material production," he wrote in 1853, "which has to appropriate a new world to itself, has so far left neither time nor opportunity to abolish the illusions of the old." Owing to the specific conditions of its development, including the earlier decline

of European capitalism, American capitalism was able to proclaim itself "exceptional."

The American trade union movement, although strongly anti-capitalist in spirit at the beginning, was soon deflected into various types of reformism. It was taken over by a labour aristocracy, representing a section of better-paid, skilled workers, who split and isolated the trade unions from the great mass of lower-paid, unorganized workers. To this day only some 16 million out of a total of 50 million American workers are members of labour unions. Class consciousness was also blunted by racial and national antagonisms, language barriers, and the more intense exploitation of Negro and immigrant workers. Moreover, American monopolists turned rivers of blood of two world wars into gold, chips of which also fell to sections of the working class and middle classes.

Even so, now as in the past, the American working class displays conspicuous militancy when fighting for its immediate economic interests. From 1870 onward it fought bitter and often heroic battles in countless strikes and demonstrations for better wages and working conditions. These were often waged in the face of opposition by reactionary labour leaders whose political views American workers frequently repudiated whenever wage and working conditions were at stake.

Currently, American workers are beginning to display a similar attitude toward the fascist-type anti-labour laws. The Taft-Hartley Act has already sharpened their awareness of the need for protecting elementary democratic and civil liberties. Even reactionary C.I.O. leaders conceded that the Taft-Hartley law was a big step towards fascism. John L. Lewis termed the law a "hyphenated monstrosity, created to make it impossible for unions to get new members, to harass unions, and to destroy unions in certain industries chosen by the masters." In 40,000 elections which the Taft-Hartleyites hoped would disorganize union membership, 90 per cent of the workers voted for the union

shop. For the first time trade unions also admitted thousands of Negro workers as union members.

Thus far the majority of workers are not accepting the dictates of big business on wage issues. In 1952, American workers defended their unions and work conditions in the most sustained strike movement in American history. Despite the Korean war, Taft-Hartley injunctions, and Smith Act indictments, nearly four million workers struck: 665,000 steel workers stayed out for 54 days in the longest walk-out since the great steel strike of 1919 led by William Z. Foster. Militant strikes were also conducted by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the United Mine Workers, by the railroad, longshore, warehouse, textile, United Electric, and many other unions. The 350,000 soft coal miners won their wage demands. There were three times as many strikes between 1945 and 1952 as between 1925 and 1931, and workers displayed greater solidarity.

Most of the strikes were directed against wage freezes and the rising cost of living. But it is also beginning to dawn upon many workers that labour's bitterest enemies are also the most notorious anti-Communists and war-mongers.

Although under Right-wing leadership, the United Steel Workers and other unions threatened by the Smith and McCarran laws are beginning to show concern about the political aspects of these laws. Some are beginning to take issue with the growing trend towards fascism. In its Atlantic City convention of March 1953, the United Automobile Workers called upon its 1,350,000 members to join with all other groups to oppose McCarthyism and the Smith, McCarran and McCarran-Walter Acts menacing the traditional liberties of American labour.

Many trade unions are refusing to knuckle under to the anti-Communist witch-hunters. The International Harvester Company attempt to smash the U.E., the largest progressive independent union, ended in failure. Protest meetings, picketing, and the refusal of witnesses to act as informers, routed the Un-American inquisitors from Detroit

and Los Angeles. Similar events took place in Chicago, where the Packinghouse Workers, United Electrical, Mine, Mill, and other unions joined to expose the union-breaking activities of the Un-American Committee, and drove its snoopers from the city.

In 1952 the F.B.I. demanded that the C.I.O. Packinghouse Workers in Chicago post pictures of Smith Act fugitives in their union hall. The union replied: "Why did you never ask us to help find 5,000 lynchings who have never been brought to justice or those responsible for the murder of three packinghouse workers during our strike in 1949?" The local returned the pictures to the F.B.I. saying, "We will not help find men persecuted for their political beliefs." In its May, 1953 policy statement, this union declared, "the time has come when the labour movement must speak and act on all fronts, to act for a cease-fire in Korea and a general peace, for admission of People's China in the U.N., for support of the colonial anti-imperialist struggle, and for more vigour in the fight against McCarthyism."

From Awakening to Resistance

On behalf of its over 225,000 members, the United Electrical Workers transmitted to the White House a plan, endorsed by the union's national convention, to end the Korean war. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, at its tenth convention in San Francisco, released a ten-point peace programme. Harry Bridges, president of the I.L.W.U., told the 250 delegates: "Presently, the political strength of labour is at an all-time low. But it is moving along the road where its political strength will come to an all-time high."

The tide of persecutions and the mounting arrogance of the McCarthyites are forcing more Americans to realize that the only way out is to fight back. A number of civil liberties committees, citizens' groups, liberal and labour

organizations have launched campaigns for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley and McCarran Acts, for amnesty of the Smith Act victims and the protection of elementary civil rights against the Un-American witch-hunters. Enraged by the growing resistance, the McCarthyites extend their terror to schools and colleges, churches and publishing houses. As a result, new voices in behalf of freedom are beginning to be heard.

Numerous clergymen rose to defend the freedom to teach and preach. The National Council of Churches of Christ, representing millions of organized Protestants, condemned McCarthyite witch-hunts in schools and churches. Church leaders in Detroit declared that McCarthyism is attempting to persecute "those who try to live up to the teachings of Christ, whom they label Communist." James A. Pike, Dean of the New York Protestant Episcopal Cathedral, condemned the Un-American Activities Committee as undermining the strength of the country. "Criticism," he said, "is becoming less and less safe." In a courageous action, 2,500 Protestant clergymen defied war hysteria and asked President Truman to commute the death sentence of the Rosenbergs. A group of Protestant ministers in Boston, headed by Bishop Norman B. Nash, appealed to the White House for amnesty for Communist leaders jailed under the Smith Act.

Teachers, librarians, college professors and students all over the country are vigorously condemning attacks on academic freedom. At San Antonio, Texas, 4,000 delegates to the Alamo District Convention of the Texas State Teachers Association declared, "The time has come to investigate the investigators. There is no place for a Ku Klux Klan in America . . . McCarthy should be investigated. They are tearing down the America we are trying to build. Instead of drawing in our horns, let's talk back and strike back."

Seven thousand teachers, superintendents, and other educators from 48 states, at the ninety-first annual convention of the National Education Association, assailed book-

burning and the stifling of free inquiry. "The American people must be free to think and write as they please," the convention declared in a resolution on June 25, 1953. Members of the American Library Association and the Book Publishers Council issued a manifesto: "Creative thought," it declared, "is by definition new, and what is new is different. The bearer of every new thought is a rebel until his idea is refined and tested." Robert B. Downes, president of the American Library Association, called on the association's 21,000 members to "stand firm against the virulent disease known as McCarthyism."

Jim Crow practices, white chauvinism, racism and anti-Negro violence are being met by growing Negro-white unity in shop and factory, by the heightened struggle of many people's organizations, trade unions and civil rights groups. During the past three years, numerous liberals and progressives have gathered in conventions for the purpose of broadening the struggle against the continued oppression of the Negro people in the U.S. In a convention, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in August 1951, 852 Negro and white delegates resolved that "we will be satisfied with nothing less than the full freedom of the Negro people and an end to the era of *second class citizenship*." This objective was reaffirmed at the second convention of the National Negro Labour Council in Cleveland in 1952.

In July 1953, 741 delegates participated in the forty-fourth convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, an organization headed by eminent Negro liberal and conservative figures, among others, Judge Hubert Delaney, Judge William Hastie, Walter White, Thurgood Marshall, Mary Church Terrell and Mary McLeod Bethune. The convention pledged to bring about complete freedom for the Negro people in the United States before 1963, the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Fascist racism is above all being countered by a rising militancy among Negro masses and their active resistance against Jim Crow practices. In many parts of the country

Negro workers have become a leading force in the struggle for civil and working class rights. Thus in Readsville, Virginia, 5,000 ruthlessly exploited Negro Menhaden Fishermen for the first time formed a union of their own. Klansmen threatened to level the homes of union members by setting them on fire. "We answered right back," a fisherman delegate told the convention of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union who supported the Negro workers. "Go ahead. Burn our shacks. They won't be a loss to anyone. But remember, the wind blows sparks that can catch any place in town."

Leaders like W. E. B. DuBois, Paul and Eslanda Robeson, Benjamin Davis, Pettis Perry, Jr., William Patterson, Claudia Jones, Henry Winston, Doxey Wilkerson, among others, are lighting the path of the Negro freedom movement. In advancing this movement they have raised the struggle for peace and democracy to a higher level. Paul Robeson, hounded and boycotted, frequently unable to obtain a hall in which to speak or sing, has travelled up and down the land, fighting for peace and a people's culture. "Wherever the people are, I will go there to speak and sing," he said. Negro workers and intellectuals, Negro culture, and the Negro struggle for freedom have infused all of progressive America with new strength and vitality.

In the spring and summer of 1950, within a few months after its launching, some two million Americans signed the Stockholm peace appeal. "When this was declared 'subversive' by an arrogant Attorney-General, various women's, church, and student groups organized peace referendums. In one such poll conducted in 1952 by the American Peace Crusade at Chicago's largest steel mills, 92 per cent of all the workers voted in favour of an immediate cease-fire in Korea, and 84 per cent for a Five-Power conference. Farmers in the West, another poll showed, supported the Montana Farmers' Union which declared at its November 1951 convention that "the only war we want is against ignorance, poverty, disease and hunger."

Other signs showed that Americans are getting weary

of Washington's "inevitable war" talk, its boasts of death-dealing inventions, and its staged "crusades." *Labor*, the official organ of 16 Railroad Brotherhoods, with a circulation of one million, commented on February 28, 1953: "It is not necessary to bamboozle Americans; the aim of the psychological warfare drive, is to get millions of American boys to fight and die in Asia to put Chiang Kai-shek in power." It pointed to the China Lobby as leading America into a third world war.

The Korean experience appreciably lessened the chances that Americans would become the dupes of an anti-Communist war crusade. Disgust and contempt for what most Americans called the "Truman war" became almost universal. "I would like the American people to get more hard-boiled," declared George Marshall, then Defence Secretary, in July 1951. He had in mind the fact that over 99 per cent of the American people failed to respond to appeals for blood donations, despite urgent requests. He referred to the general satisfaction that met Jacob Malik's proposal for the conclusion of an armistice in Korea. "The statement of one Soviet representative," said Marshall, "has very seriously affected our defence programme. It is unthinkable to me that the American people would react as they have to one Soviet statement. It is very sad . . . tragic and humiliating . . . this reaction by the American people to the peace proposal of the Soviet Deputy Minister."

Indeed, it was. For it uncovered the "humiliating" chasm between the people and their rulers. The voice of the banker-generals was not the voice of America. Even those Americans who swallowed the anti-Communist poison asked, "Why rush to war?"

Thus, one of the most significant aspects of Wall Street's war drive is the fact that it failed to gain the full support of the American people. Despite cascades of war propaganda and promises of an easy war, the majority of Americans want peace. The carefully designed plot to debase and corrupt America's youth did not yield the results anticipated by the trusts. The number of American volunteers

for a holy crusade against Communism remains insignificant; this, above all, confounds and irritates the warmongers. *The contradiction between the imperialists' desire to bring on another war and their ability to do so is still unresolved; it forms the major and decisive obstacle on their road to war.*

To hurdle this obstacle, Washington is conducting a broad offensive against America's peace fighters. Government organs from the State Department to local police stations issue dire warnings to beware of the "Communist peace threat," and report on those who advance it. Those whose first thoughts concern their own personal safety ran for cover. Some fair weather liberals publicly denied they ever uttered one word against Hitler, Mussolini, or Franco. Some joined the anti-Soviet brigade by juggling the word "our" to identify the interests of the American people with those of the Morgan-Dulles-Krupp-I. G. Farben gang of International Murder, Inc. Typical is this crude rationalization by E. Stamm Cooper: "We do not love Franco or Tito or Chiang Kai-shek, nor have we forgotten the bloody Germans and Japanese, but extreme necessity has made us (i.e., the American people) bedfellows with them."

These "extreme necessities," however, are bound to produce effects leading in an opposite direction. Daily and hourly the oligarchy itself is creating the circumstances for the maturing of mass political consciousness. War and fascism cannot be camouflaged with phrase-mongering about freedom and abundance. The extent and variation of such deception are strictly limited, and even more so in relation to the American people who, as experience has shown, are apt to measure world rule slogans with the yardstick of their immediate economic interests.

In the 1952 elections, the American people voted not so much for Eisenhower as against Truman, who was held responsible for the war in Korea, for high prices and taxes, for corruption and venality in the state apparatus.

But only a year later, in the November 1953 elections, a majority expressed dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower

big business anti-labour administration by repudiating most of its candidates and electing Democrats instead. Eisenhower's failure to lower war tension and armament burdens played a considerable role in this growing disillusionment with his administration. A Gallup Poll report released on November 6, 1953, showed that 79 per cent of the American people want a Big Power meeting to negotiate a settlement of the cold war.

As the dimensions of Wall Street's design unfold more fully, millions of Americans will move in the direction of recognizing their enemy more clearly. One thing is certain, the time is not far off when Americans will demand that factory wheels be kept moving without greasing them with the blood of their children. It is in the light of this inevitable awakening that we must estimate the present-day tasks of America's core of anti-fascists and peace fighters.

In their drive for war and maximum profits, the American trusts also went after the trade unions and progressive organizations in the West European countries. Special funds were assigned to split the workers' movement into hostile camps, into Catholic, "third force" and other factions. Washington dispatched its Careys, Browns, Dubinskys, and other social-democratic agents to buy off West European trade union leaders. The workers were promised shiploads of Marshall plan aid. They noted, however, that this "aid" was contingent on their participation in another war. After a while, even Wall Street spokesmen admitted the programme was a flop; it failed to gain the support of decisive sections of the working class or its leaders.

Rebuff in Western Europe

Although rebuffed, Washington redoubled its efforts. It centred its main offensive on weakening and isolating the Communist parties, the vanguard of the anti-war forces. It ordered its Paris and Rome puppets to oust Communists

from government positions, pervert election laws and institute various repressive measures. Millions were spent to buy up newspapers, radio stations, and other propaganda organs, for directing an incessant "hate Communism" and "hate Russia" barrage. Every Goebbels calumny was dragged out to picture the Communists as tools of a foreign power. France and Italy were inundated with lurid American journals and murder films. The Vatican did its bit by threatening to excommunicate all who associated with Communists or read their literature. Local archbishops warned that those voting for Communists would be denied the sacraments. Indeed, never did a ruling class have at its command such staggering means with which to blunt the people's will.

The results, however, did not match the effort. "I doubt whether with all our billions we succeeded in converting one single Communist," is the way Herbert Hoover summarized it. The Communist parties of France and Italy continued to draw more millions of votes. In the French elections of April 1953, the Communist Party of France again emerged as the leading party in terms of popular votes. In the June 1953 elections in Italy, the vote for the left wing parties rose to 36 per cent, as compared with 31 per cent in 1948. In August 1953 right and left wing led French labour unions joined in a common nation-wide strike against the low wages and miserable living conditions intensified by armament spendings and the war against the people of Viet Nam. Over three million workers maintained solidarity and defied the Laniel government threats. In September 1953 all of Italy's labour unions (except a tiny group affiliated with the neo-fascist movement) joined in a 24-hour general strike for higher wages.

"The state of mind of the French and Italian peoples ought to be regarded as most disturbing," remarked the London *Economist*. "If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" it asked. "It seems our three billion dollars we invested to stem Communism in Italy just got us nowhere," wrote the *Wall Street Journal*.

The anti-Communist campaign is failing because it contradicts the people's day-to-day experiences. In Italy, a people with a glorious past and great contributions to modern civilization lives in hovels amid poverty and decay. But they refuse to be degraded. Millions of Italy's best sons and daughters now recognize that the struggle for peace and a people's democracy offers the only solution to their pressing needs and problems. Not only workers and peasants, but students, teachers and intellectuals as well as some sections of the middle classes recognize the Left parties as the true defenders of the people's interests.

In France, it was the Communists who stemmed the fascist offensive in 1934, leading the Popular Front against the Munich men, the Daladiers, Bonnets, Lavals and the country's other grave-diggers. It was they who led the war-time resistance struggle in which 70,000 Communists heroically gave their lives in defence of democracy and national independence. Indeed, in both Italy and France, Communist courage, loyalty, and patriotism have become part of the national lore. The attempt to present the party of Henri Barbusse, Anatole France, Romain Rolland, Gabriel Péri, Danielle Casanova, Paul Eluard, Louis Aragon, Jacques Duclos, and Maurice Thorez, the bearers of French culture and great revolutionary traditions, as "alien" and "subversive" could not succeed.

To secure its West-European war base Washington finally went over to terror and force of arms. The way had already been indicated in Greece, where many progressives, teachers, artists, physicians, and writers are held in concentration camps run by former Hitler S.S. sadists*;

* Manolis Proimakis, a former member of Parliament, described the daily routine on Makronisos as follows: "A few well-directed blows on the face, particularly under the eyes and on the neck. . . . Wild roars pierce the quietness of the night. . . . The victim, while waiting his turn, sees other people transported on stretchers, others being dragged down by two or three men—others going mad in the tragic delirium following the torture." There are over a thousand scientists, writers, and physicians among the 35,000 men

where thousands of trade unionists, workers and Communists—among them the immortal hero, Nicholas Beloyannis—have been assassinated. “The transformation of Greece into a base of operations for war,” reported Royal Wilbur France in *The Nation*, “has been accompanied by executions, torture and imprisonment for thousands of political prisoners. These things have gone on under the eyes of the representatives of the United States.”

Since the Rome and Paris oligarchies, like that in Athens, were too weak for the task ahead, U.S. troops moved in to occupy strategic ports and railway centres. On the eve of World War II, Daladier used troops to smash the general strike against the Munich agreement, dissolved the Communist Party, and arrested its leaders. This, as revealed later, was done at the request of Ribbentrop, Abetz, and the Hitler high command. In 1952, France's 200 families set about repeating their course of the thirties but this time in cooperation with the Washington high command. Former Pétainists and Nazi collaborators in the Paris government have been assigned to do the preparatory work. A French S.S. corps, patterned after Darnaud's Vichy militia, was organized. Paris deported Spain's anti-fascist exiles, who had fought heroically during the Nazi occupation. Striking workers were confronted with lockouts and the threat of hunger. There followed a number of raids and arrests of Communists and trade union leaders. Workers' demonstrations were met with machine gun fire. As for the future, Washington put great hopes in a European army with Bonn Nazi troops as its core.

In France and Italy, hired fascist gangsters bombed Communist clubs and libraries. Some monopoly organs openly urged the assassination of workers' leaders. Imperialist agents constantly preyed on the lives of leading Communists. Among others they sought to murder Togliatti, Thorez, Duclos, Steve Nelson and Robert Thompson,

and women incarcerated on Makronisos, among them also the Greek poet Menelaos Loudemis. (David Alman, “Makronisos, the Truman Monument,” *Masses and Mainstream*, August 1950.)

imprisoned U.S. Communist leaders. In 1950 they succeeded in killing Julien Lahaut, Communist leader of Belgium.

Their long-range objective, as evidenced by their mass arrests of French Communists and their leader, Jacques Duclos, in June 1952 and the secretaries of the General Confederation of Labour on March 24, 1953, was to provoke the progressive forces into acts which could serve as a pretext for a large-scale terrorist "police action." In no instance, however, did any of the Communist parties, with their numerous adherents, reply to these attacks with acts of violence.

Any sober estimate of the situation will show that the task of suppressing the West European working masses is an impossible one. All of Hitler's execution squads, all the Gestapo torture chambers could not suppress the Italian and French anti-fascist forces. The problem of how to bridle millions opposing war and fascism, how to quell one sector of this opposition without simultaneously strengthening and multiplying resistance in other sectors, is essentially insoluble. Even if millions could be arrested, other millions would rise to take up their struggle.

In their attempt to smash Italy's working class movement, the U.S. trusts in 1948-1950 manoeuvred to strangle Italy's industrial centres by depriving them of raw materials and markets. Mass dismissals and hunger, they hoped, would finally demoralize the workers into accepting their lot as American cannon fodder. The directors of numerous plants in Bologna, Milan, Genoa, Turin, Bolznetto and other cities, simply locked the factory gates and departed.

But Italy's trade unions, under the leadership of their Communist and Socialist parties, met this challenge and won. They defied injunctions against trespassing on idle plant property and launched a nation-wide offensive to keep the factories going. Gaining the moral and material support of practically the entire population in these cities, they set about operating the factories without benefit of those who had fired them because production had become "unprofitable." Small merchants and peasants provided them with

goods and credits. Soon they began turning out tractors, machine tools and other equipment. The plant directors returned. But it was the workers who acted as the guardians of the country's industries.

Similar methods were followed by Italy's land-starved peasants. Pressed by hunger and tired of lying promises, they occupied idle land belonging to the big estates. They drained and cultivated swampy and unproductive tracts. In the Po delta region, unemployed agricultural workers organized a public works programme. They built roads without consent of the public authorities; they ploughed up land without the consent of the owners. In the Abruzzi province, 10,000 workers repaired canals and then demanded of the Prince of Torlona to pay up. All they asked was fifty cents a day.

De Gasperi's Christian Democratic government countered these "audacious" demands with arrests and machine-gun fire. Many peasants were killed. The example of Maria Margoti and other martyrs who fell in the struggle, however, spurred the battle for peace, land and bread. Instead of sporadic hunger protests, Italy's unemployed agricultural workers organized themselves into a million-strong federation to fight in alliance with the unemployed industrial workers. Some of them succeeded in taking over land, and, following the example of the peasants in the People's Democracies, went about organizing cooperatives and collectives.

The many years of Franco terror failed to extinguish the freedom struggle of Spain's peasants and workers. Despite ferocious fascist oppression, the Spanish masses are in constant touch with their heroic underground organizations. "The Communist party is now expanding rapidly. ... They have 20 radio transmitters in Madrid alone," reported the *New York Times*. "The guerilla units are highly organized and informed about everything ... because they are linked with underground forces in towns and villages."

When General Sherman visited Franco, "a delegation

of heroic Spaniards appeared at the U.S. Embassy in Madrid and left a note: 'The United States will buy a dictator but they will not be buying a people in any of its aspects.' " In March 1951, Spain's industrial centres saw huge workers' demonstrations. In Pamplona and Barcelona hundreds of thousands of workers went out on strike. Rocks and burning torches were hurled against the buildings and palaces of the fascist oligarchy. These as well as other demonstrations revealed the infinite loathing of Spain's masses for their hideous regime.

Why We Are Hated

In many countries the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence is also expressing itself in a growing hatred toward the American ruling class. In many areas, it already resembles the kind of contempt and hatred colonial peoples have for the British.

At the end of the war a considerable reservoir of good will existed in most countries towards America. Roosevelt's declarations opposing any revival of European fascism and favouring unity among the great powers for a lasting peace evoked world-wide enthusiasm.

His successors, however, quickly dashed the people's hopes. Europe had barely emerged from the horrors of the last war when the U.S. began saddling it with the burdens of another. At first many Europeans believed that Washington's World War III talk was a mere cold-war bluff. For all around them were still the ruins, the countless orphans, the crippled and the wounded of the last war. In every European town and hamlet one could hear, "My brother was killed in the war," or "My husband perished in a concentration camp," "My child died in an air raid," or "We hardly have enough to eat." Some perhaps envied the American people who had escaped the war miseries. Some of them knew that the U.S. trusts had enriched themselves

on fabulous war profits. But they bore no special resentment against the American people.

Contempt for the U.S.A. began to rise as its war salesmen demanded that the war-agonized masses of Europe arm themselves against the threat of "Soviet aggression." The people looked about, but they saw no Soviet troops or planes moving against any country. Instead, they heard Soviet pleas for peace and disarmament, and saw the Soviet people repairing their own war losses. The horrendous "Soviet aggression" threat made some headway in the U.S., thousands of miles away from the Soviet Union, but it failed to stir any kind of fear among the peoples of Western Europe. "The Europeans have lost their soldierly virtues; they don't want to save themselves," bitterly complained American war recruiters.

Later on, as American domination became more brazen, as the people saw their government officials turn into errand boys of New York bankers, as their meagre earnings were cut at the command of American gauleiters, their contempt turned into hatred. Italy's masses, subsisting on five to ten dollars a week, heard E.C.A. Administrator W. C. Foster declare that they must "trim themselves to further leanness." Undernourished British workers heard American bankers tell their government it must build more tanks and cut wages.

On top of all this, they saw their homelands turned into American war bases, their soil trampled by a foreign occupant bent on transforming it into a flaming battleground. This flagrant intervention in their internal affairs, coupled with the arrogant master race attitude of the U.S. bosses, created profound hostility.

Anti-American sentiments are sharpening not only among the European working masses, but also among its middle and bourgeois circles. "Fear and distrust of the United States is no longer confined to leftists and pacifists," cabled Raymond Daniell from London. It is widely held by many persons that an agreement could be reached with Russia if the U.S. wanted one. *The World Telegram and*

Sun reported: "Let America fight her own wars! That's what you hear men saying in pubs after work. That's how women talk as they wait in line at the food stores. That's the comment that comes from the bus crowds. This anti-Americanism is growing. It is not limited to any one class, group or party. Even the British Foreign Office shows it. Part of the Cabinet reeks with it."

The Canadian writer, Bruce Hutchinson, reported on October 12, 1953: "In Europe and especially in Britain, the quiet but bitter resentment against American policies and, worse, against American people is so deep and has grown so fast of late that statesmen hardly dare to discuss it in public and try to mask it with speeches and postures."

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam reported, "I have been struck by the anti-American sentiment in Europe which expresses itself in charges of indiscriminate bombing by U.S. planes and of the imposition of Coca Cola." Joseph P. Kennedy, former U.S. Ambassador to Britain, addressing the Economic Club of Chicago on December 17, 1951, declared, "Man after man, in factories and fields, charges us not only with his misfortune, but with the design of pushing Europe into a war not of her own making. The picture is a tragic one, so tragic that it behoves us to ask why."

To counteract these widespread sentiments, Washington trimmed and streamlined its psychological propaganda offensive. It built a stronger "Voice" and higher broadcasting towers. It hired an army of psychologists and propaganda specialists. It even financed so-called "cultural" congresses. Their over-all effect, however, proved disappointing. Reporting from such a congress held in March, 1951, in New Delhi, India, Margaret Parton wrote: "A casual American spectator who wandered into the Congress might have thought he had blundered into a Union Square meeting, so strong was the condemnation of the West, and particularly of America."

Even its sponsors admitted that the Voice of America had failed in its objectives. For the gap between words and deeds remained embarrassingly wide. While Voice broad-

casts claimed that the U.S. represented freedom of ideas, books were being banned and burned and their authors jailed. Washington's freedom claims turned even more hollow when U.S. Senators voted against ratifying the U.N. statute outlawing genocide and the mass murder of civilian populations because "it would infringe upon the rights and freedom of certain American states." Similarly, Washington opposed the Soviet proposal in the U.N. to prohibit all propaganda inciting to a third world war on the ground that "this would curtail freedom of speech." "It would be the antithesis of democracy if the U.S. delegation would not oppose any attempt directly or indirectly aimed to limit freedom of speech," declared Warren Austin. While Mr. Austin spoke thus in the U.N., the 84-year old Negro scholar and poet, W. E. B. DuBois, was handcuffed and dragged to jail as a "foreign agent," because he joined in sponsoring the international outlawing of the atom bomb!

Peter Meyer, writing in the reactionary *American Mercury* in September 1952, admitted that when he spoke to Europeans about defending freedom, they countered with, "And what about the Negroes in the South? ... He [the European] knows everything about America. He knows that Negroes are barred from riding in the same buses and trains with white gentlemen. ... He knows that America lacks all culture, or at least real culture. He also knows that you get tossed in jail if you voice an unpopular opinion. Europeans conclude that America is on the way to fascism."

Commenting on the boasts of the American millionaires, the conservative *Le Monde* asked, "How could men to whom culture means Parisian immorality claim world leadership?" In a letter to Americans, Claude Bourdet, editor of the *Observateur*, wrote on July 17, 1952: "Europe does not believe in your promises. It trembles at every one of your gestures. Asia and Africa despise you, for you have become the allies of their ancient exploiters. Beneath all the dollars and armaments you are stifling the liberty, life and very soul of the peoples who were your friends."

With the rise of McCarthyism, U.S. prestige abroad

sank to a still lower level. Even Bonn officials reminded the Washington leaders to recall "Germany's recent record of political and military defeat." In 1953, when a Mr. Cohn and a Mr. Schine, two agents of Senator McCarthy, arrived in Europe, the London *Financial Times* referred to them as "scummy jackals."

After the execution of the Rosenbergs, Jean-Paul Sartre, prominent French novelist and playwright, warned America's ruling circles: "Do you believe we are going to die for McCarthy? Turn Europe into a battlefield so that this blood-stained imbecile can burn books? Please understand this now: Never shall we hand the leadership of the western world to the murderers of the Rosenbergs."

Following a protest of its citizenry, Geneva's city council banned the sale of American chewing gum because "each package contained bloody scenes of the Korean war, directed principally at children." Ireland forbade the import of 15 U.S. publications on the ground of their obscene and criminal content. Many British communities rose in protest against the content of the Hollywood films foisted upon them. A bill introduced in the Italian parliament called for curbing the spread of American comic books. In April 1953, the House of Representatives in Nigeria protested against "the barbarous glorification of gangsterism and sadism in Hollywood films and their racism in depicting Negroes as inferior beings."

In August 1952, Truman's daughter turned up in Stockholm. Sweden's largest newspaper, *Aftonbladet*, referred to the three F.B.I. agents accompanying her as "three American gorillas whose armpits bulged with artillery." "One can hardly say that Sweden's acquaintance with the three gentlemen from Washington has been a pleasant one," wrote the *Daily Expressen*. "What right have they to brandish their arms in a country where even the police is traditionally unarmed?" asked the Swedish citizenry.

U.S. occupation and rearmament of the Tojo war criminals has aroused bitter anti-American sentiments among the Japanese people. Japan's most prominent woman leader,

Mme. Tamki Uyemura, a daughter of a famous Japanese Methodist minister and herself the former pastor of a Tokyo church, publicly accused the U.S. military of corrupting Japanese morals, of seducing hundreds of thousands of girls. "Next to the Korean war business, which totals \$400,000,000, the biggest U.S. enterprise in Japan," she declared on April 21, 1952, "is the \$200,000,000 prostitution business."

In the colonial and dependent countries, implacable hatred of the British has switched to the new master, whose racist arrogance toward the non-white peoples is even more naked. And animosity against the United States is rising ever higher as peasants and workers on the road to freedom, whether in Brazil, Tunisia, Iran, Viet Nam or Indonesia, always meet up with U.S. intrigue and bullets. Washington attempts to camouflage its weapons and its killers, but in vain. "The United States," reported Allan Todd, "is trying its new technique of staying in the background, taking the flag or the label off American activities," and emphasizing "native local organizations." But "taking the American label from American articles is no answer," he added. The people are not fooled by this tactic.

"The blank walls in South American cities," reported John L. Lewis, "and some of our embassies are lettered in far, night after night: 'Go home Nord Americano' or 'Leave our country Yanqui pigs'." * Sydney Gruson, from Mexico City, wrote that "all sections of Mexican political opinion, from the far left to the far right, joined today in applauding the Government's decision to reject United States terms for a military aid agreement between the two countries." When Acheson visited Rio de Janeiro in August 1952, "his effigy was publicly burned twenty times," reported Elmer Bender, writing on the spot. "In other Brazilian cities, he was hanged. In the downtown streets of Rio, pigs were loosed with 'Acheson' written on their flanks." Even the reactionary *Tribuna Imprensa* declared, "Let Mr. Acheson have no illusions. Today in Brazil the public man who wants to be

* In a speech before the Chicago Executives Club, on June 5, 1953.

unpopular has one easy resource: to defend the thesis of collaboration by Brazil with the United States." When Vargas, the Brazilian dictator, proposed sending 25,000 troops to Korea in March 1951, he was stopped by a wave of strikes and demonstrations. Not even one division could be raised from the 120 million people living between the Rio Grande and the Straits of Magellan. From Buenos Aires, Edward R. Murrow reported that posters all over the city were depicting Wall Street as a pink octopus sitting on a heap of skulls and gold coins and also as a voracious-looking black eagle, wearing stars and stripes.

James Michener, in a series of reports from Southeast Asia, wrote of hearing American women in Asia as saying, "If we Americans pull out of here tomorrow, within six months these characters [the Asian people] would be back in the trees." He commented, "Contrast this bankruptcy of ideas with what communism offers to the Asian people today. Leadership of their own lands, increased crops, more food, ownership by local people of local industries. . . . Along the entire eastern seaboard," he wrote, "the American is utterly unwelcome. In countries like Malaya and Indo-China he runs the risk of being murdered. In great cities like Singapore, Saigon and Jakarta wise Americans stay indoors at night. Where he is not hunted, the American is reviled. Never in our national history have we been so feared and despised."

In July 1951, tens of thousands of youths demonstrated in the streets of Manila while burning the effigy of John Foster Dulles. His plan to restore Japanese fascist militarism is cursed by all the peoples in Southeast Asia who had been ravaged by Tokyo's imperialists. They cursed the war against the Korean people. Washington's pliant ally in the Philippines, President Quirino, dutifully promised an infantry regiment of 5,000 men for Korea. "We are determined to cross our borders and fight for freedom and democracy; many of us are eager and even impatient to enlist," he declared. But at sailing time, the number had dwindled to 1,200, and the fighting morale of this contingent was such

that it was withdrawn shortly after its arrival in Korea under the pretext that "it could not stand the climate here."

The Heinous Betrayal

Apart from Washington's actual war moves, nothing has created as much revulsion among European peoples as its deliberate restoration of the men who devastated Europe from Rotterdam to Stalingrad. This attempt to erase all memory of the acts committed by the fascists, of all that the people suffered, bled for and fought against in the last war, rankles and gnaws at the hearts of millions as the most harrowing betrayal.

Immediately after the war, and in order to calm aroused public opinion, U.S. authorities jailed some of the more notorious Nazi sadists. This step, in most cases, protected the criminals from friends or relatives of the Nazis' victims. Those assassins guilty of murdering only a "mere" few hundred to a thousand civilians were placed in various refugee camps, classified as "anti-Communists" and then unobtrusively released. Already in 1946, the *New York Times'* correspondent, Ed Johnson, reported from Munich that the few Americans who took denazification seriously are fighting "a heartbreaking last ditch battle . . . The Germans who supported Adolf Hitler inch back into positions of profit and power. Everywhere the story is the same. Denazification is a farce. . . . Some of the scummiest characters imaginable are given clean bills of health." By 1950, out of a total of 80,377 Nazi war criminals arrested in the Anglo-American zone of Austria, only 67 were still held in custody. These were the official figures of Austria's Ministry of Interior.

Western Germany and Anglo-American Austria teem with self-confessed Nazi killers. Among them is one Kurt Fisher, who led in killing 20,000 people in Biale-Podolsk and who received a Hitler Iron Cross for the efficiency with

which he managed to seal 60 to 80 people in a gas chamber built to hold only 40. Others are Karl Spies and O. Yak, who specialized in seizing children between the ages of five and twelve, receiving so much per head on delivery to the gas chambers; Hans Schneider, who in 1943 herded 15,000 workers to the Maidanek crematoriums.* By 1951, all these super-assassins, like countless other Himmler associates, were operating various business enterprises in the Austrian and West German Anglo-American zones.

From the very beginning, Washington curtly rejected the repeated Soviet and Polish demands that these criminals be brought to trial in the lands where they had committed their crimes as specified in the Moscow agreement of October 1943. Instead, Washington provided them with compensation (from Marshall Plan funds) for time spent in jail. (In 1950 and 1951, Austria's National Bank paid out over 450 million shillings to its war criminals.) In Western Germany numerous Nazi criminals openly boasted that they had never had it as good under Hitler as they did under the U.S.A. According to *Ce Soir* of Paris, the McCloy-Morgan generals supplied Nazi leaders with tropical fruits and vegetables specially shipped for them by plane from overseas.

In February 1951, Washington ordered General Thomas T. Handy, its European commander, and John J. McCloy, former High Commissioner for Western Germany, to turn loose the war criminals sentenced by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg. Among those freed was Wilhelm Speidel, who massacred tens of thousands of hostages in Poland and the Soviet Union. His brother, Hans Speidel, who had ordered the extermination of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in Greece and Rumania, and Col. Hauser, Goering's Chief of Staff, are now working with the U.S. Command in Paris. Also freed were hundreds

* One, a Josef Ritter, from Offenburg, admitted killing 55 concentration camp inmates by shoving them off a steep cliff. He also boasted that he ate human flesh while in the Wehrmacht. "He was never tried for his concentration camp killings," remarked the *New York Herald Tribune* on January 30, 1951.

of leading S.S. men who were in charge of the mass killings at Dachau, Buchenwald, Oswiecim, and other death camps.

As they passed through the prison gates, they were welcomed by the Guderians, Halders, Stumpfs, and Manteffels, by Hitler's youth leader, Axmann, by Himmler's daughter, and by former leaders of the Nazi Women's Corps, Hauptfuhrerins Frau Von Sholtz-Klink and Ursulla Grill (commissioned by the American command to form a new women's auxiliary force). They were provided with new American uniforms and told to wait for further orders. Herr Kaiser, Adenauer's minister for all-German questions, hailed them as "grenadiers against communism."

The biggest welcome, however, was reserved for Hitler's closest co-workers, for the men who erected the gigantic death factories, such as the directors of A.E.G., the Heinkel Works, the I. G. Farben, Damag, Krupp, who relayed six million Jews, hundreds of thousands of Russian, Polish, Czech, French and other workers to the crematoriums after they had served as slave labourers in the plants.

On February 3, 1951, eight years after Stalingrad, Washington released, among others, Fritz Ter Meer, of I. G. Farben, Alfred Krupp, Friedrich Flick, and Eduard Houndremont. Krupp, whose name is synonymous with the death of millions during three generations, was greeted by the Bonn leaders as a national hero. A huge caravan of Christian Democrats, dignitaries in American Cadillacs, awaited the criminals at the gates of the Landsberg prison. The death camarilla left for Berchtesgaden to celebrate at Hitler's former hideout. The Wall Street press reported: "It was a festival of freedom. . . . Krupp intends to take up where he left off . . . bubbling champagne glasses clinked to the tune of the Horst Wessel song and *Deutschland Ueber Alles*."

McCloy, Draper, Morgan and company presented to Krupp, on the day of his release, legal title to a six-square-mile area of Ruhr factories (which at the Nuremberg trials were ordered confiscated), and an initial \$100 million gun order. They asked him to forgive and forget. The assassins

reaffirmed their common blood ties and objectives. Such was the hideous spectacle that unfolded before the European peoples.

“... As a Burned Child Dreads Fire”

Six years after Hitler's blood-soaked edifice crumbled under the blows of the Red Army, his heirs wracked their brains on how to reconstruct it. The German finance oligarchy, rejuvenated by Washington dollar transfusions, reappointed its S.S. men and Hitler judges to hound and jail once again anti-fascist Germans. On May 11, 1952, when the youth of Munich organized a peace caravan to Essen to demonstrate against restoring the Wehrmacht, the Nazi-officered Bonn police charged them with dogs and firearms. They murdered Phillip Mueller and wounded scores of others.

Yet despite all efforts by the Bonn-Washington axis to resurrect Nazi militarism, the majority of the West German people remain peace-minded. In their recent election campaign even the Adenauer men had to pose as angels of peace. But nine million West Germans voted against the Washington sponsored government. “The German people loathe a new war as a burned child dreads fire,” Carolus reported in *The Nation*. In numerous polls by newspapers and U.S. agencies, the vast majority of West Germans expressed their opposition to the American war programme. Out of 3,600 Hamburg dock workers, 3,200 voted against any remilitarization. Similar figures are available, for numerous other West German centres. Large groups of former war prisoners, and many of those who fought on the Eastern front, opposed the restoration of the Wehrmacht. The *Rheinische Merkur* admitted it lost 20,000 readers after printing an article favouring remilitarization. West German peasants in Buettelborn resisted U.S. attempts to requisition a nearby air field, formerly used by the Luftwaffe. “The villagers,”

reported Reuters, "held a mass meeting and voted they did not want anything as dangerous as an ammunition depot near their peaceful town. They had already made sure the air field could not be used again by planes. They have ripped up the landing strip and ploughed deep furrows back and forth across the whole field."

In May 1952, workers in West Germany united in the most powerful demonstration since pre-Hitler days: 170,000 workers in Hamburg, 70,000 in Dusseldorf, 60,000 in Mannheim demonstrated against Adenauer's war threat. "The Soviet programme based on unity, neutrality and peace has won much support in Western Germany," reported Drew Middleton. "The insidious Communist propaganda is having a telling effect on the great mass of the people. . . . It is like a fog seeping into a poorly constructed house. You shut the door and close the windows, but it comes through the cracks in the walls."

These breaches in the U.S.-West German war base are irreparable. They are bound to widen. The statements of the Eisenhowers that "it was cheaper for the United States to fight a war with the soldiers of foreign nations even if we have to equip them, than with American boys," cannot be misread. Most Germans understand that Wall Street will not hesitate to blow up what is left of their country in order to kindle another war. And this, they realize, would turn their towns and cities into moon craters, into incomparably grimmer wastelands than the last one.

Although at times better disguised, U.S. policy and tactics, like those of Hitler Germany, are leading to the same consequences. They are forging in each country a united front of all patriots for freedom and national independence, a wall of mass resistance against war and fascism.

The contradiction between the U.S. monopolies and the European peoples is already sapping the foundations of the anti-Soviet war alliance. Any further sharpening of these contradictions may create favourable circumstances for the intervention of the West European masses, for upsetting and finally smashing the conspiracy for a third world war.

Moreover, for the first time in world history, there exists a mighty camp of peace-loving states, encompassing one-third of mankind. Powerful democratic international organizations of workers, peasants, women, and the youth of almost every land have joined the world peace movement. All this has rendered tangible the prospect of preventing another world war.

Mid-century Signposts

Mankind has always sensed the contradiction between that which rejoices in life and that which seeks to brutalize and crush it, between that which exalts man to build and create and that which dooms him to sterility and darkness. The history of every land, the record of every culture, the creations of every folk literature tell of the people's longing for peace and concord. The forces of life, rising and falling, have always asserted themselves in the end. The people overcome their hangmen, but always after tributes in blood and tears.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the beginnings of organized attempts to diffuse anti-war sentiments on a world scale. With the spread of the capitalist system and its more savage mass slaughters, various pacifist movements arose. In 1828, 50 American peace groups joined to form an International Peace Society. In 1841, the First International Peace Congress was organized in Boston and convened in London two years later. In 1849, an International Peace Congress was held in Paris, presided over by Victor Hugo. In 1904, 3,000 people representing 200 organizations attended the thirteenth International Peace Congress in Boston. After the first World War various student, youth, church, and women's organizations engaged in peace activities.

All these pacifist movements advocated the establishment of a Congress of Nations, codes of international law,

and the settlement of differences through negotiations. On the whole, the pacifists did not gain any big mass following. People were accustomed to believing that wars were natural, uncontrollable upheavals, or were fought to defend national interests. Few people were aware of who owned these interests and who profited from war. Lack of understanding led to lack of vigilance. Because the people were not conscious of the real causes of war, their resistance never reached the stage of mass action to prevent it.

The growth of the socialist parties, in the period before the first World War, gave the rising mass opposition to international war a new and more concrete perspective. In Europe and elsewhere, millions of class-conscious workers supported the anti-war resolutions adopted by the International Socialist Congresses. However, the imperialists were still able to hatch war in relative secrecy. Moreover, the workers' movement was deflected and blunted by a traitorous Social Democratic leadership which capitulated to the war slogans of the kings, the kaisers and their ministers. Only the comparatively small left wing of the Social Democratic party, led by Lenin, remained loyal to working class internationalism. It called upon the workers of tsarist Russia, France, Italy and Germany and the other warring countries to war against the warmakers instead of against each other.

Mass resistance to the warmakers rose to a higher level during the thirties. Numerous groups rallied to the call of Maxim Gorki, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. In France and elsewhere considerable sections of the working class heeded the warnings of the Communist-led united front against war and fascism. The youth of many lands fought heroically in defence of the Spanish Republic in an attempt to stop European fascism and save world peace.

But it was only by the middle of this century, after mankind experienced the horrors of the second World War, that the peace struggle became world-wide in scope. The truth dawned upon hundreds of millions that wars, in the words of Ilya Ehrenburg, are not typhoons or earthquakes

—they are man-made; that people can alter the course of history by united action *in advance* of the threatening catastrophe.

This understanding became more general with the ripening of a number of historical conditions. Class rule has now reached a stage where its very existence depends on continuous mass slaughter—a fact that can no longer be hidden. At the same time, one-third of mankind, having liberated itself from the rule of the trusts, is showing humanity the road to peace and fraternal co-operation. Miners in Wales and Chile, metal workers in France and Japan, plantation workers in Ceylon and Guatemala, the common people the world over have begun asking similar questions: Who wants another war? Who is urging us to hate people who have never robbed or attacked us? What can we do to ease our toil, to make life richer, happier?

Mankind yearning for peace heard two answers. One preached death and obliteration; the other surged with faith in man and progress. One was put into words by E. C. Nance, the President of Tampa University in Florida, "I believe that we must be totally prepared, basing ourselves in the laws of the jungle. Everyone must learn the art of killing. . . . I shall approve bacteriological warfare, the use of gas, of atomic and H-bombs and transcontinental engines. I would not ask for mercy for the sick, the churches, the schools or for any other sections of the population."

The other answer was enunciated by the Soviet composer, Dmitri Shostakovich. "Man," he declared, "was born to listen to the voice of the piano and violin, harp and flute and to enjoy the marvellous symphony of life and creative work, and not be deafened by bomb bursts and blinded by atomic lightning. Man was born to live to the full, delighting in it as a bird delights in flying, and this regardless of whether he was born the son of an American working woman or Russian peasant woman. . . . Man was born to be happy. That is what I have been taught to think by Leo Tolstoy and Mark Twain, by Chekhov and Whitman,

Tchaikovsky and Mozart, humanists who sang to the sun, to joy, to human genius."

These two declarations fully summarize the essence and direction of the two worlds, representing, as it were, the mid-century signposts for all mankind.

The World's Sixth Power

And thus, the world peace movement was born. From its modest beginnings in 1949 at Wroclaw through its first congress in Paris, the launching the Stockholm appeal, the Intercontinental Peace Conference at Montevideo, the youth assemblies in Prague, Budapest, Nice, Berlin and Bucharest, the World Peace Congresses in Warsaw, Peking, and Vienna, the peace movement rapidly spread around the globe. Its appeal to reason and conscience have crossed all frontiers. Unlike the former pacifist movements, it recognized from the outset that anti-war sentiments alone will not halt the incendiaries but that the people's will can become a decisive historic force only when sparked by a clear understanding of the issues involved. A major task of this movement, therefore, is to bring clarity to millions by unmasking the schemes and falsehoods of the warmakers.

Everywhere the world peace movement advances the question: If it is in the people's interest to outlaw the use of the atom bomb, to disarm, and to conclude a five-power peace pact, who, then, opposes such a programme, and why? Millions of plain people responded by declaring, "We are not interested in the involved claims and counterclaims of the diplomats. We will sign up with the side that stands for peace." The choice made was not in terms of political belief, but that of survival.

The 600 million peace signatures served as a warning to the would-be assassins of mankind. *For the first time, the peoples of many nations have listed their enemies, posted their names on the world's highways, and announced in*

advance the retribution to be exacted from them should they attempt to subject mankind to the horrors of another war. The rising tide of the peace forces shortened the reach of the warmakers: under the alerted eyes of millions some war roads became impassable, others, too risky.

In Brussels, Rome, Paris, Bonn and Lisbon the puppets signed one agreement after another. But those who were to fulfill them thought otherwise. On January 30, 1952, 6,000 workers of the Deutsche Werft, the biggest shipbuilding yards in West Germany, downed tools in protest against the projected introduction of conscription. Similar strikes took place also at the Siemens-Halske, and other plants. Out of Stuttgart's 375 plants, the workers in 300 protested against remilitarization. Hundreds of thousands of workers in Nuremberg, Munich, Mannheim, and Bielefeld took similar action, unprecedented in the post-war history of the German trade union movement.

In July 1952, over 10,000 Belgian soldiers demanded immediate release from the army. Demonstrations took place in Brussels, Namur and other cities, and among the Belgian troops in Western Germany as well. In a message to the protesting soldiers, the Belgian steel workers declared, "Comrades, the workers are with you all the way." On August 9, 1952, nearly all workers in the heavily-industrialized areas in Belgium downed tools in solidarity with the servicemen. The government was compelled to revoke the Washington-favoured conscription law. On February 16, 1953, Danish troops and army conscripts, dissatisfied with extension of service from 12 to 18 months, mutinied and staged a march to Copenhagen. "The first mutiny in the history of Denmark," army authorities declared. Another wave of revolts followed in May 1953.

Dockers in Sasebo, Japan, in 1951, refused to load vessels destined for Korea; workers of the Nihow chemical works refused to produce war materials; in Hakadat workers turned down jobs on extending bomber bases. Bremen and Hamburg workers in the same year refused to unload American death cargoes.

In Norway, the bricklayers and other trade unionists adopted resolutions not to work on military construction. London, Liverpool, and Manchester dockers sent delegations to the House of Commons demanding that Britain break with Washington foreign policy. The National Union of Mineworkers warned the government against joining the United States in its China policy. Dockers in Bordeaux, Le Havre, St. Nazaire, La Pallice, Marseilles, Rouen, Brest, Genoa and other ports carried on a militant struggle against handling military supplies. In 1952, the dock workers of Algiers declared, "It is two years now since we took the decision to refuse to touch war material and we kept it firm. They attempted to starve us, but in vain. We did not load any weapons for Viet Nam. Not one ammunition boat did our workers load, not only in Algiers but also in Oran and other ports."

Workers of Nice, in the spring of 1950, hurled into the harbour V-2 launching ramps and rockets destined for Viet Nam. In May 1952, peasants in the south of France destroyed U.S. air base installations. On the night of February 12, 1950, French women of St. Pierre des Corps went after an ammunition train. To halt it, young Raymonde Dien flung herself on the rails. As the train stopped, the women uncoupled the cars and removed the death weapons. Raymonde Dien was imprisoned, but such was the enthusiasm her deed evoked among the French masses that she had to be released.

Throughout Europe millions whose children, mothers, brothers, and husbands had been murdered by the Nazis swore to do battle until peace was won. On the monuments to the dead of the last war the Dutch, Belgian, and British people laid wreaths bearing the inscription, "No rearmament of our murderers."

In Prague, Budapest, Nice and Berlin the youth of all lands assembled at huge peace gatherings. While the Eisenhowers, Ridgways, and McCloyes called for more divisions, the highways of France and Italy streamed with cyclists bearing Picasso's dove. The French youth organized a

peace relay. Like marathon runners, thousands of them—messengers of life—raced on bicycles with the scroll and torch of peace. They visited the war-torn regions, the monuments of martyrs. Along their 10,000-kilometre route, almost the entire population joined in signing the Stockholm appeal. Italy's youth organized a similar *Staffeta de la Pace*. In August 1950, both relays converged upon Nice to culminate in a great international Youth Peace Relay.

The impending handclasp between the workers of Milan and Genoa and those of Marseilles and Toulouse gave the jitters to the rulers of Italy and France. Large forces were dispatched to the frontier. But the young people could not be stopped. They poured over the Alps at night; they swam rivers; Spanish youth crossed the Pyrenees and the French came through the Rhone Valley. From far-off Brittany and Calabria tens of thousands of singing youth came on foot and on trucks decorated with tree branches, moving like a veritable forest toward Nice. They bore five million newly collected peace signatures. Wall Street and its puppets, more frightened than Macbeth when Birnam Wood started moving, assembled bomb-throwing fascist thugs and police with armoured cars to stop the peace festival. But the population of Nice rose in protest. Its workers responded with a general strike.

The songs and grandeur of the garlanded youth won against the purveyors of death. On the night of August 16, 30,000 French and Italian peace partisans, with torches in their hands, gathered in front of Nice's monument to the war dead. Together with the youth of 40 other nations, they took the oath to defend the culture and peace of their homelands.

Spokesmen of the war camp, unwilling to admit the tremendous scope of the world peace movement, continued to refer to it as "limited to Communists and their sympathizers." Diplomats moving among the upper-crust circles of Western Europe spoke optimistically. "The French are committed to the defence of Western Europe," they reported in February 1951, after the arrival of Eisenhower, then

acting as super-salesman to convince the European masses of their need to be saved. But his reception indicated a different state of affairs. It took 16,000 armed police, countless armoured cars and machine guns to keep hundreds of thousands of Parisians from expressing their true sentiments on the day of his—and Ridgway's—arrival. The French masses knew that the American generals' love for Paris equalled their affection for Seoul and Pyongyang.

In Rome, "not a single burst of applause marked Eisenhower's arrival," observed *Il Tempo*, the government newspaper. Instead, huge protest meetings and peace demonstrations took place. "Disturbances rock Italy with many killed and wounded and thousands arrested on Eisenhower visit," read the news reports. Practically every street in Rome and other Italian cities carried a message in big letters: "Go home, Eisenhower; we will not serve as your cannon fodder." De Gasperi's original promise of thirteen divisions dwindled to three. "But even these three," sadly commented the Pentagon, "may prove unreliable."

British workers persisted in their demand that government officials answer several questions: "Who wants war with China? Who is giving guns to the Nazis? Why are you doing the dirty work of the Americans? Shouldn't we be building houses instead of making guns?" When John Strachey, former British Secretary of War, was interrupted by these questions at a meeting in Dundee, Scotland, the embarrassed chairman rose to declare: "Five persons, probably Communists, are trying to wreck the meeting." A young man retorted, "There are more than five," and called on the audience to stand up. "Half of the audience rose to its feet," reported the Reuters correspondent. On July 10, 1952, General Ridgway was greeted in London by a people's demonstration a mile long, with banners saying, "Go home, the British will not fight your wars." On November 8, 1952, 7,000 people gathered in London to inaugurate an Anglo-Soviet friendship month. A huge placard depicted a case of merchandise wrapped in Soviet and British flags, and bore the words, "Peace, Trade, Friendship." One hund-

red twenty-four trade unions sent a message declaring, "We consider that the most energetic efforts must be made to restore good relations between Britain and the Soviet Union." Popular opposition in England invalidated much of the Attlee-Acheson secret atom-bomb deal of 1950 (as later revealed by Churchill) in relation to China.

In October 1953, 800 trade union leaders, representing 86 million workers of 79 countries, gathered in Vienna for the Third World Trade Union Congress. Led by Louis Saillant, Guiseppe di Vittorio, Abdoulaye Diallo of Africa, Liu Ning-i of China and Lombardo Toledano (who headed the 160 WFTU delegates from the Latin-American countries), the Congress issued a ringing manifesto to the working people of the world to intensify their struggle for higher wages, peace, disarmament and the *elimination of the causes of war*.

The world peace movement, in the words of Pietro Nenni, became the world's sixth power. The people's intervention became a decisive historical force upsetting the imperialists' timetable. In 1951, the world peace movement played an important role in stopping Washington from dropping atom bombs on Korea and precipitating a third World War.

As more and more workers, peasants, youth, and women of distant lands joined in pledging not to kill each other, the rage of the war incendiaries mounted. "*Freundshaft, freundshaft* [friendship], that is all they talk about," wrote the *New York Times*, as two million youth of the German Democratic Republic, together with those of 38 other nations, marched in Berlin under the banners of peace and friendship. "These are all frightening aspects of what is going on in East Berlin," it added, "but the most frightening of all is the future development of these youngsters, cut off as they are from the long story of Western political and social development." (Under the "long story," the newspaper perhaps had in mind the Cicero and other anti-Negro programmes that took place in the United States while the Berlin International Youth Festival was in progress.)

But the very fear of the imperialists of lessening war tensions, their rejection of all Soviet peace offers, gained millions of new adherents for the peace movement. It tore the mask off the imperialists' claims and revealed their true intentions. The stirring example of many heroic peace partisans galvanized thousands of others into action. Henri Martin, condemned to five years' imprisonment for opposing the war in Indo-China, inspired millions of French peace fighters to redouble their activities. From his prison cell he wrote, "Far from breaking our spirit, persecution only strengthens us in our idea. I shall hold out as long as it is necessary. They will not demoralize us." From their dungeons in Kalamata and Averov, Greek defenders of peace wrote: "Torture and death sentences will not stop us from putting our signatures on this peace appeal." When the American monarcho-fascist command in Greece decided to quarter tank units in Menidi near Athens, the entire population—men, women, young people, and even children—blocked the road, barring the way to the tanks. The peasants pulled down the wire fences and insisted on the immediate withdrawal of the army units. The walls and roofs of terror-ruled Athens carried the message, "Down with war."

"The Reason and Conscience of Humanity"

At mid-century, the representatives of 82 nations, bearing the mandate of hundreds of millions of peace signatures, prepared to hold the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England. Washington and London were profoundly alarmed. The shores of Wall Street's unsinkable aircraft carrier, studded with thirty bomber bases, were to be invaded by men and women of all races, pleading for peace. But no law existed in Britain, the traditional land of "free speech," whereby the Congress could be prohibited. Downing Street's problem was how to maintain that free-

dom for all kinds of warmongers while denying it to Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Shostakovich, Ehrenburg, and other men and women whose names are treasured the world over.

On November 6, 1950, ten days before the scheduled opening of the Congress, the wire and code rooms connecting 10 Downing Street to the State Department buzzed with urgent messages. On that date a bitter squabble erupted between London and Washington over which rifle the NATO armies were to employ. Vickers Armstrong insisted on its own .28 calibre rifle, while the Pentagon businessmen insisted on the .30 Garand rifle, the product of their own death factories. Washington promised to reconsider its position pending the testimony of experts on the killing efficiency of each model. But as to the Peace Congress, an ingenious and mutually satisfactory solution was reached. Since it was legally impossible to forbid the congress, London was to announce publicly that it could be held while simultaneously barring delegates by refusing them visas.

Warsaw, the capital of people's Poland, immediately opened its doors to receive the two thousand delegates streaming toward the Congress from all continents. "The hope of mankind," it announced, "needs no visas, any genuine peace emblem will suffice. Anyone, regardless of race, creed, colour or political views is welcome to participate in this forum of mankind, to express his views on how to prevent a third world war." Washington retorted by closing frontiers, but Prague and Warsaw threw a network of air bridges over them. Wall Street satellites arrested those already on their way, but mass protests forced their release.

All of Poland was electrified by the event. The people, still emerging from extensive war devastation, were visibly gripped by emotions of gratitude and friendship toward the peace ambassadors descending upon their land. Tens of thousands lined the stations, airfields, and avenues, to greet the peace delegates. All of Poland resounded with the cry of peace.

On seeing Warsaw and other parts of Poland, the West-

ern delegates were wakened with a shock. They had read about fascism, but not until they saw the extermination camps, the instruments with which millions were tortured to death, did they fully realize its meaning. Seeing the still gaping wounds, the fantastic wreckage left behind by the war, honest Americans said to themselves: "If only more of our people could see this tragic warning!" Warsaw alone had lost 800,000 inhabitants—more than the war losses of the United States and England combined. This city had experienced the satanic malice of fascism. Hitler had ordered the city levelled to the ground, block by block.

Yet a new and beautiful metropolis was rising out of the wasteland. Nothing, it seemed, could symbolize more palpably man's heroic victory over barbarism. The delegates saw the infinite labour of the people in removing the seemingly endless mountains of rubble; the rows of new streets and the glow in the eyes of workers when uttering the word *poko*j (peace). M. Woodward, a Conservative member of the British Parliament, remorsefully declared, "Please, if you can, forgive us our trespasses against you. It appals me to think of how misled we in Britain have been. I have believed such things myself. But I shall go back to try to heal their minds."

The Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, knelt at the steps of the statues erected in memory of the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and said, "I bow my head to those who perished in the most terrible crime in human history. I bow my head to those fearless heroes, the Jewish men, women and children who gave up their lives in this place. Who in this place can think he did enough to guard the world against the same fate? I believe mankind will never again be stained with such crimes."

In the fall of 1952, a great Asian peace conference was held in Peking. "Here," reported Joseph Starobin, New York *Daily Worker* correspondent, "Asia and Latin America clasped hands and recognized each other's pain and hope. It was the story of half the human race and the terrible indictment of imperialism. . . . It came out in almost every

one of the 100 speeches. . . . When the women of India came to the platform to embrace their Korean sisters, clutching them fiercely for long and terrible minutes, it was not a cry of pain alone; it was the pledge of support to a people standing on its feet and fighting back. . . . Never were a group of delegates so strong and proud as the Viet Nameese. . . . What happened in Peking was a true alliance of peoples. The real Pacific pact is among the peasants who cut the rice, the workers who load the barges, the miners who dig out the tin, the youngsters who tap the rubber, the mechanics who pump out the oil."

Early in 1952, the 1,857 representatives from 85 countries gathered at the Vienna Third World Peace Congress, issued a ringing appeal: "Enough of destroying towns and countries, enough of piling up weapons of slaughter, of preaching hate and calling for war. It is high time to discuss, high time to agree. The national independence of every state constitutes the essential condition of peace, as well as the right of all peoples to self-determination and to choose their own way of life, without any interference in their internal affairs."

Delegates representing all the nations and races of mankind participated in the Warsaw, Peking, and Vienna peace congresses. They were men and women of different religious and political convictions, of different classes, groups, and professions—poets and engineers, workers and scientists, statesmen as well as religious and trade union leaders. Each was free to propose any plan for avoiding the disaster of another war. Yet there arose no conflicting groups envenomed by selfish motives, raising disingenuous slogans, or speaking two-faced phrases. For there was no group here ready to slay a million human beings for an evil title to a copper or gold mine.

Here spoke the reason and conscience of humanity through Joliot-Curie, who declared, "We must and we shall eradicate the anguish of collective death." Through Ilya Ehrenburg, who asked, "Why can't Communists and Catho-

lics, Russians and Americans, English and Chinese unite to turn the gun barrel away from the human breast? Why is it prohibited to call for the arson of a barn or a haystack, but quite possible to call for setting fire to half of the world? Don't we bear responsibility for all the children, fair and dark, for the children of London and Moscow, Paris and Peking, for the children amidst the skyscrapers of New York as for those who wander in the ruins of Korea?"

By cementing friendship between peoples of various lands, the world peace gatherings deepened contradictions between the people and the war instigators. Dockers from Australia and Odessa, miners from West Germany and the Don, textile workers from Lyons and Tashkent, peasants from Hungary, Brazil, India, and France, are discovering the identity of their basic aspirations.

Religious representatives of many countries scored the hypocritical position of Vatican circles which join in persecuting peace supporters while maintaining that prayer will suffice to preserve world peace. Father Andrea Gaggero of Rome declared, "I carry in my heart the memory of millions of martyred people dispersed and killed in that terrible last war. Every day there comes back to me the memory of the hundreds of thousands of people of all nations who were my death companions in Mauthausen. . . . One cannot serve two masters, God and money, good and evil. . . . We must all unite in the single aim of defending world peace."

Tackling the Mad Golem

The world peace movement gave a concise, simple, and unequivocal definition of *aggression*, a term which the U.N. under American coercion, is still unwilling to define. "The aggressor is the State which first uses armed force, no matter under what pretext, against another State." The decisive words governing this definition are "first," "State," and

"armed force." "First" means that *when* a country is defending itself *after* it has been attacked from the outside, it is conducting a just war against aggression. Aid to a country so attacked is justified. "Armed force" defines *what* constitutes an attack and signifies that regardless of what the leaders of a given state may say, think, or do in regard to another state, it does not come under the term aggression so long as they do not employ armed force. "State" defines *who* can come under the term aggressor. Whatever the Korean, Iranian, American, or any other people do *within* their own territorial boundaries, whatever political struggles or civil wars are waged *internally*, it does not come under the term aggression. Only armed intervention from the *outside* constitutes an act of aggression and leads to international wars. The World Peace Council continues to demand that the United Nations adopt this clear definition, prohibit and abolish all weapons of mass destruction, carry out disarmament under U.N. Security Council control, and promote the establishment of normal cultural and trade relations among all countries.

The world peace movement has shown that there is no international problem which cannot be solved through negotiation, provided the objective is world peace. The unwillingness of any power to negotiate, is *prima facie* evidence that it is driving toward war. Such a power fears negotiations because any agreement leading to a peaceful solution of outstanding problems would remove its alibis for war preparations.

To check the imperialists' World War III plans, the world peace movement seeks to widen the scope of its activities to rouse more millions to active struggle. A third world war may be postponed. It may be averted. Postponement in itself may have the effect of making such a war impossible later on. For monopoly capitalism in its final stage can be compared to a mad Golem racing, as if chased by the wings of doom, to open the floodgates of disaster. Time, however, the imperialists themselves admit, is on the side of the world peace forces. Every peace

signature, every act for peace, thus forges another link in the chain holding the monster at bay.

Capitalism breeds wars as swamps breed malaria. But the laws ruling human society are different from natural laws. For in the last analysis, social development and all major questions of history are decided by the struggle of the people. In the last analysis, no imperialists can wage war without working people, and the will of the working people will decide whether or not such a war shall be waged.

In the struggle over life-and-death issues, the political consciousness of the masses "leaps forward with seven-league boots." Today, hundreds of millions of formerly backward and oppressed people who make up the majority of the world's population are taking an active part in the historical process. Peaceful development has become a necessity, an historical law for over one-third of mankind, whose power to impose world peace grows daily. And within the imperialist camp, life is teaching millions who never read Marx or Lenin to reach some of their conclusions.

All this means that mankind is travelling *away* from the epoch of untrammelled imperialist rule. It is moving toward a point of momentous qualitative historical change, where certain hitherto inevitable scourges will become preventable. Impelled by the imperialist threat to set the world afire for the third time in a century, the life interests of all peoples are bound to merge with those of the camp of peace and socialism for bringing about the outlawing of all weapons of mass destruction, the cessation of the armament race, and peaceful co-existence.

Chapter VIII

Dynamics of Soviet Peace Policy

WESTERN DIPLOMATS, always complain about the fixed, unyielding character of the Soviet peace proposals. "The Soviets monotonously repeat what they have been saying for the last five years," they frequently assert. They might more accurately say, "for the last 36 years." For the peace principles of Soviet foreign policy have never varied. Indeed, the proposals for peace and co-existence advanced by the Soviet Union in the first year of its existence are practically identical with those of today. To understand the reason for this unvarying consistency it will be necessary to examine the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy.

The Titanic Struggle

The USSR was born amid the people's cries for peace. The Russian people rallied to Lenin's party because it called for ending World War I. *The day after the October Revolution*, the Congress of Soviets proposed to all warring nations an immediate armistice to be followed by negotiations for a just and democratic peace. This appeal was immediately rejected by the Western powers. Instead, Washington in 1918 offered Russian military leaders a hundred rubles for every Russian soldier they could place at the front against the Germans. The Soviets, however, repudiated all secret pacts of the tsarist government, and proceeded to conclude a separate peace treaty with Germany. In spite of the unreasonable terms presented by the German rulers at Brest-Litovsk, the Soviets signed an

armistice. In this, they demonstrated that the *primary condition for attaining peace is not to demand the settlement of all outstanding issues, as a prior condition, but first to terminate hostilities, to stop the shooting.*

To the capitalists, the peace appeal of the young Soviet state constituted a "menace." The American trusts were raking in big profits on war orders. Herbert Hoover was put in charge of a politically motivated "relief" programme. The Wall Street press wrote that shipments of food to Russia would be banned "as long as the Bolsheviks remain in power and pursue their programme of making peace." The Soviet Union's insistence on peace was finally answered by a 14-power crusade to destroy it, led by the United States, Britain and France.

On August 1, 1918, the Soviet Union issued an appeal to the working masses of France, England, Italy, the United States, and Japan to stop the sabotage, boycott, civil war, and intervention by their governments in the internal affairs of Russia. On August 6, 1918, in a note to the U.S. Ambassador, the Soviet Union declared, "We desire peace and friendship with all the nations. Why, then, are your government and your allies committing aggression against us?"

In a note of October 24, 1918, the USSR again asked President Wilson, "Why is the U.S., without any provocation on our part, without a declaration of war, participating in an attack upon Soviet territories, dispatching troops to Archangelsk and Siberia?" "How," they asked, "does this jibe with the President's solemn League of Nations pronouncements on the freedom and independence and self-determination of nations?" The Soviet note also queried whether there were no two President Wilsons, one who talked about peace and another who planned war against the Soviet Union.

On December 12, 1918, in its third note to the U.S., the USSR declared: "After four years of war agony, the Russian people desire peace. But the unprovoked assault and invasion by the allied armies of our territory is forcing us against our will to take to arms again, to undergo more

suffering and misery, to load our people with new burdens. You have cut us from supplies and are seeking to strangle us, to doom us through starvation. You may or may not believe in our aims and ideals or the possibility of erecting a new social system, but this does not give you the right to send troops to overthrow us and restore the old system and to continue the foreign exploitation of our land."

In *July* 1919, Lenin declared to a group of Americans: "We have made solemn and repeated proposals for peace to both these states [United States and Japan] but they do not even reply and are continuing their laying waste and destroying Eastern Siberia in particular, where the Soviet peasants are heroically resisting the capitalist bandits of Japan and the United States of America." In its fourth note on *January* 12, 1919, the Soviet Union again asked Washington for peace negotiations. "We hope," it declared, "that the U.S. government shares the views of certain American Senators and is willing to meet with the Soviet representatives for the conclusion of a peace treaty."

After much suffering and heroic fighting, the Soviet people smashed the interventionist armies and liquidated the civil war instigated by them. But the Western imperialists were determined to give the Soviet Union no respite. They encircled it with hostile war-scheming puppets. They harassed it with boycotts and sabotage. They started an armament race and spurred the rebuilding of German militarism.

The French government declared that it would not send its forces to overthrow the Soviet government, but would "supply weapons, money, food and uniforms to the Poles and Rumanians to fight communism." Lloyd George stated that "it was a mistake to send our army to Russia; instead the allied nations must now organize forces inside Russia to overthrow the regime."

Seeing that a second world war was in preparation, the Soviet leaders, as far back as *July* 1921, began to warn the Western powers of the consequences and urged the calling of a disarmament conference. On *April* 10, 1922,

the Russian delegation at the Genoa conference declared that "The economic cooperation and peaceful coexistence of the old society and the new society in the process of becoming is possible and necessary for the maintenance of world peace." It proposed a programme for general disarmament and for outlawing of the use of barbaric poison gases and aerial bombing of civilian populations.

On May 18, 1922, after the Western powers rejected these proposals, the Soviet Union issued a warning on the new wars the imperialists were preparing and urged the people to fight for peace and disarmament. On June 12, 1922, the Soviet Union issued another peace appeal to the Western powers, declaring that "Although the Western States are stubbornly persisting in their bitter hatred of the Soviet Union and decline to establish normal relations with it, we still insist on calling their attention to the possibility of restoring peaceful relations." The note pointed out that "The armament race, the resulting waste and high taxes and the atmosphere of suspicion, of uncertainty and conflict it creates, are worsening the economic crisis and the political instability in capitalist countries." It proposed the summoning of a disarmament conference in Moscow. On December 2, 1922, the USSR condemned the so-called "moral disarmament" talk as a cynical cover for continued war preparations. It told the Western powers, "You are rejecting even our modest disarmament proposal to cut troops and weapons by 25 per cent."

Numerous other Soviet disarmament proposals followed. Washington, London, and Paris rejected them all under various pretexts, many of them identical with those they are using today. (In April 1927, the French military advanced the idea that the West could attain world domination by using poison gas and other "superior" weapons in its possession.) On November 27, 1927, the Soviet Union put forward a proposal to combine international disarmament with the conclusion of non-aggression pacts. The Western powers characterized this as "a Soviet propaganda trick." "We are prepared to meet your challenge," replied

the Soviet Union. "We shall carry on a peace propaganda and utilize every means for strengthening world peace." The USSR warned the Western powers again on *November 30, 1927*, that their armament drive was leading to another war. On *April 21, 1928*, it bluntly asked the Western powers, "What threat is stopping you from disarming? Is it your fear of the oppressed or of your own peoples?" The Soviet Union reaffirmed, "We stand for total disarmament, total peace, not peace up to a certain point."

The titanic struggle for peace and disarmament waged by the USSR in the League of Nations during the subsequent decade, Stalin's repeated warnings of the fatal consequences that another war would bring down upon its promoters, are too well known to need recapitulation. Soviet appraisal of the support furnished by the West European powers and the U.S. monopolies to the anti-Communist crusade and the rearmament of fascist Germany was summarized on *December 21, 1937*, by Maxim Litvinov in a speech before the Assembly of the League of Nations. He declared: "I think the time has come to make an end of this dangerous propaganda weapon of aggression, that it is time for those to whom the interests of peace are really dear to tell the parrots in high places that nonsense repeated day by day does not cease thereby to be nonsense, that a spade should be called a spade and aggression aggression, whatever slogan it decorates itself with, and that whatever the meaning of anti-Communism—be it mineralogical, commercial, strategical or any other—there is no international justification for aggression, armed intervention, invasion of other States and breaches of international treaties which it cloaks."

Today, thirty-six years after its founding, the Soviet Union is still tendering the Western powers disarmament and peaceful co-existence. Yet there is a difference. This time imperialist responses to Soviet peace proposals are usually characterized by more than indifferent remarks concerning their "wearying monotony." Now Soviet warnings against another war throw the imperialist camp into violent

spasms. For in the meantime the strength of the socialist world sector to restrain the war incendiaries has grown manifold.

One of the significant results of the second World War, said Molotov, "is the historic fact that the Soviet Union has emerged once and for all from the position of international isolation." Reinforced by China, North Korea and the East European countries, the camp of socialism has become more invincible than ever. In addition, Soviet science, technology and all-around industrial development have overtaken and in some respects surpassed those of the capitalist countries, a feat all the more spectacular in view of the immense losses the USSR sustained in World War II.

In 1945, the entire region from Stalingrad to Byelorussia, from Leningrad to Odessa and Sevastopol, lay in ruins and ashes—burned, dynamited, and depopulated. Seven million of its flowering youth perished on the battlefields. An area inhabited by 88 million people, accounting for a third of Soviet industrial output, almost one-half of its arable land and livestock, was in utter ruins. Altogether, 1,700 towns and cities, 70,000 villages, 100,000 collective farms, and 32,000 factories were razed. Twenty-five million people were homeless. Western experts hopefully predicted that it would be many decades before the Soviet Union repaired its war losses.

Six years later, on June 1, 1951, the *New York Times* correspondent, Harrison E. Salisbury, after a tour in the Ukraine and the Caucasus, reported: "Rostov, destroyed in the war, is today a lively, busy city, and again, virtually no relics of the war can be seen. The Ukraine, in the spring of 1951, is flourishing, both in agriculture and industry. . . . More and more villages now have electricity as hydro-electric power is increased. The life of the people is obviously healthy, comfortable and easy. Farmers have good, comfortable tiled roofs, stone-built houses, and ample garden plots of their own." In the cities there as "many new blocks of apartment houses, new boulevards and signs of rapid growth. People lead a comfortable existence, food

is plentiful, cheap and varied." There is "a great display of meat, poultry and pork . . . dozens of kinds of vegetables. . . . Strain and tension are absent." On September 29, 1953, writing from Tashkent, Salisbury reported: "Asian visitors are impressed with this metropolis, its excellent health standards, education, sanatoriums, clean streets, rapidly improving housing, electric facilities, an abundance of food, an abundance of employment, a rapidly widening industrialization programme, and constantly improving agricultural productivity. Along with this they see equality of races under the law and the participation of large numbers of Uzbeks and other Central Asian peoples in government, industry and education."

Foundation of Soviet Peace Policy

"The war," declared Malenkov, "delayed the development of our industry for eight or nine years; this is, roughly two five-year-plan period." Yet, by 1952 Soviet industrial output was two and a quarter times higher than in 1940. Heavy industry, the metallurgical, electrical, and machine-building branches, showed an even more spectacular rise. In 1952, the output of machinery and equipment was more than three times that of 1940. Between 1950 and 1952 Soviet engineering industry produced 1,600 new types of machines. Industrial output in the Far East and Siberian regions trebled in comparison to 1940, producing more than one-half of the steel and rolled metal, nearly half of the coal and oil, and over 40 per cent of Soviet electric power. The heavy industries of the Soviet Union now produce in nine days as much as Russia produced before the October Revolution in the course of a year.

As compared with the fourth five-year plan, the fifth, to be completed in 1955, allocated 50 per cent more for health, educational, and cultural services. It provided for a 70 per cent rise in school construction, and a 100 per cent

rise in housing construction. Steel production in 1955 is to rise 62 per cent above 1950, oil, 85 per cent, electric power, 80 per cent. In October 1953 the Soviets projected a 72 per cent rise in consumers' goods production by the end of 1954 instead of 1955 as originally planned. Overall industrial output will rise to 294 per cent above 1940.

Although the annual percentage increase of Soviet production, since 1921, is four to six times that of the capitalist countries, the USSR has no problems of surplus or over production. For the steady growth of industrial output and the economy as a whole is matched by growth of the workers' income, by systematic reduction of consumers' goods prices and projects benefiting the people as a whole. Six sweeping price reductions have been made since the war's end. Their combined effect was to cut living costs in half, while incomes increased. *Under normal peacetime conditions*, every rise in output is thus accompanied by a rise in consumption. The income of farmers in 1951 was 60 per cent above 1940, that of workers 57 per cent higher. By 1955 real wages and salaries are to rise by another 35 per cent for workers and 40 per cent for farmers.*

The socialist market knows of no difficulties in demand because factories, science, technology, are at the disposal of the people for the unlimited expansion of society's material and cultural needs. It is free from crisis and unemployment problems because its overall capacity to consume is potentially unlimited. For a socialist economy the production of armaments, therefore, is a curse instead of a relief and a blessing, as it is for capitalists. Unlike Washington, Moscow knows of no capital surpluses and needs no foreign areas for investments. It, therefore, regards the dooming of millions to the fearful sufferings of war for the sake of profits, as the most heinous of crimes.

* Taking the index number of national income for 1938 as 100, the United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics of June, 1952, showed that the national income of the U.S.S.R. in 1951 rose to 224, of the U.S.A. to 198, of Poland to 160, of Czechoslovakia to 138, of the United Kingdom to 113 (1950), of France to 106 (1949).

Not being plagued by commercial rivalries, the USSR is vitally interested in the upward development of all industrially backward countries. Soviet aid is accelerating the industrialization of China. In 1952 the USSR supplied the People's Democracies with ten times more machines and equipment than in 1948. Trade between them is not based on any drive to find a market for goods but on mutual, planned extension of productive forces and on the common effort to utilize their natural wealth. These new economic relations give all their other relations with each other a fraternal character.

Free from strangling contradictions, the basic economic law of socialism enables the Soviet leaders to plan scientifically for doubling and trebling the output of goods. It means unbroken, continuous expansion of the productive forces, and finally, to the point where the transition from socialism to communism becomes feasible. "From the height of midcentury," wrote *Pravda*, "we Soviet people clearly see our communist future. We see the outlines of the magnificent edifice of communism which the Soviet people are enthusiastically building."

The Basic Law of Socialist Society

The Soviet socialist state is ruled and administered by men and women of diverse nationalities. Qualifications for leadership are high. Those elected to responsible posts are usually the most devoted members of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, those most loyal to the people's interests. *But no individual leader or group of leaders can decide or improvise what these interests are to be.* All policies must follow the basic law of socialist society, namely, "the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques."

Leaders under socialism must submit all problems to the test of reason and practice, of Marxist-Leninist principles. They must subordinate short-range interests to the long-range objectives of the public interest; they must learn how to coordinate individual opinion to collective experience and judgment. Concealment of truth, regardless how unpalatable, is considered the gravest crime. Leaders are constantly called upon to re-examine theoretical knowledge in the light of changing circumstances, and above all to work in close unity with the people. Leaders may make plans and blueprints, but it is the people who do the actual building, managing, and operating. To learn from the masses is a cardinal communist principle.

Of writers and artists it is asked that their works stir and broaden the people's vision and understanding to cope with ever-changing reality and the tasks of building a new life. Writers and artists, declared Malenkov, should "pillory faults, shortcomings, boldly portray life's contradictions and conflicts, create positive artistic images of the new men and women in all their splendour and human dignity." They should promote "in our society traits, habits and customs free from the ulcers and vices to which capitalism gives rise." He called for new Gogols and Shchedrins, "whose scorching satire would burn out all that is negative, decaying and moribund, everything acting as a brake on our march forward."

Criticism and self-criticism is put forth in the Soviet Union, as in other Communist-led countries, as one of the laws governing the development of socialist society. For obviously, growth and change cannot proceed without a struggle between the old and the new, nor without the rise of contradictions. All Soviet citizens are constantly being called upon to boldly criticize leadership, to exercise control over its activities, to combat bureaucracy, conceit, ostentation on the part of leaders and functionaries; to openly disclose shortcomings, mistakes or unhealthy practices. In this way, while exercising the highest form of democracy,

the people learn to act as qualified leaders and masters of their country.

The impressive solidarity and vigilance displayed by the Soviet people on March 6, 1953, when suddenly bereaved of Stalin's leadership (an event their enemies prophesied would create dejection, turmoil and disunity) warrant the assumption that countless Soviet citizens already measure up to this task.

As we can see, the building of socialism calls for changed habits and thoughts, for high ethical, moral, and intellectual standards. By the very nature of the system, socialism can only be served by leaders of the type of Lenin and Stalin—sober, scientifically-oriented, incorruptible people of the highest culture. However, socialist society cannot regard any individual leader, no matter what his position, as above the law, above the collective leadership that derives its power directly from the people, the serving of whose basic interests is the supreme law.

On the other hand, decaying capitalism is often best served by cynical corrupt politicians, or by Hitlers, beasts in human form. "We have no need for purges," boasted the *New York Times* on July 11, 1953, commenting on the charges against the former Soviet leader, Lavrenti P. Beria. "Harry Truman, free of political responsibility and care, drives his own car without so much as a police escort." But what mightier protection could the ex-President ask for than a press and a social system which cover his responsibility in the slaughter of tens of thousands of young men in Korea?

It would take us too far afield to analyze the reasons why in the Soviet Union, even after 35 years of socialist development, there still occur isolated cases of individuals with the moral and intellectual diseases characteristic of capitalism. Although relatively infrequent, certain Communist leaders also become afflicted with these diseases and lose principle and integrity. In the present period, when imperialism is exploring every means for wrecking

peaceful socialist construction, the path of such degeneration always leads toward betrayal of the people's interests.

It would be a simple matter for the Soviet government to cover up revelations of crookedness, embezzlement or other forms of criminal activity on the part of demoralized elements in leading positions. But Soviet newspapers carry detailed reports of any and all cases of conduct contrary to the people's welfare. Such exposure, like criticism of the leaders by the masses, makes the growth of an encrusted bureaucracy impossible. It insures the continued development of the highest democratic people's rule. It insures the opposite of what the enemies of the Soviet Union constantly anticipate and predict, but never see—namely, the weakening and break-up of socialism from internal causes. Each purge of incompetent or degenerate leadership has insured the further development of the highest democratic people's rule; it has sharpened and consolidated the people's might in the face of their external enemies.

China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe have only recently emerged from the devastation of war and centuries of feudal and foreign exploitation. But they are already well on the way in completing large-scale industrialization, electrification, irrigation and housing projects. Their 1953 volume of industrial output is now between three to four times above that of 1938. They doubled and trebled the number of their hospitals, nurseries, dispensaries and other health facilities. No physician, no health centre for example, ever reached 84 per cent of the children in prewar Rumania. In 1952 a whole network of hospitals and dispensaries covered the entire country. The number of hospital beds was six times that of 1944. In Hungary, the 1951 mortality rate was 30 per cent lower than in 1938. In Poland, despite the fact that the war left millions of physically wrecked children and adults, the general mortality rate in 1952 was 27 per cent lower and deaths from tuberculosis, 38 per cent lower than in 1938. In 1938 the natural increase of the Polish population was 10.7 per 1,000. In 1950 it reached 19 per 1,000, a 78 per cent

rise. The average life span rose by 18 per cent in comparison to 1938.

Threatened by aggression, the People's Democracies are compelled to raise their defensive capacity by a more rapid construction of heavy industry. This, of course, postpones the achievement of the basic goal of rapidly raising the people's living standards. (One of the chief aims of the imperialists is to create widespread dissatisfaction within these countries by forcing them, under penalty of extinction, to produce ever more cannons instead of butter.) Thus, the leaders of both Hungary and the German Democratic Republic have recently admitted that heavy industry has been pushed too fast, and at the expense of the consumers' goods industries. However, according to the figures given in the U.N. *Economic Survey* of 1953, the rise in production and living standards in the People's Democracies in the four years between 1948-52 was higher than between 1920 and 1940! In 1951, the survey showed Poland's industrial output already exceeded the pre-war level by 190%, that of Hungary by 150%, of Bulgaria by 350%, of Czechoslovakia by 70%, of Rumania by 90%.

These countries are still *on the road to socialism*. The heritage of the past—the rot cultivated by centuries of feudal and capitalist rule—will not disappear in one day. But the outstanding fact is that within a few years after joining the camp of socialism, they have undergone a tremendous material and cultural transformation. Everywhere in these lands freedom is vanishing for the sowers of hatred, ignorance, and obscurantism. Towns and villages abound in cultural centres, theatres, book marts, science, art exhibits, and sport establishments. The art of advertising is utilized to arouse the people's desire to better themselves, to further their development.

From Tibet to Albania, from Canton to Warsaw and Prague, 800 million people are in the process of establishing relations based on unity and friendship. A hundred different nationalities, of various races, traditions, cultures, languages, and habits, work in peace with one another. Every

human being, regardless of race, creed, colour or sex, possesses equal rights and opportunities for free and untrammelled development. The barriers of racial and national hatred are in the process of disappearing. Georgians are not plotting against Armenians. Poles are not attacking Ukrainians. Czechoslovaks are not scheming against Moldavians. Socialism is removing the boulders of hate erected by those who profited from feuds and divisions. Borders, once areas of bitter strife and irredentism, have become sites for neighbourly exchange and contact.

Numerous youth, women, workers, and peasants, from China, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies constantly visit one another to exchange experiences, to learn and know one another. Each brings to the other its art, music, science, and literature. Czech and Slovak, Hungarian and Rumanian, formerly taught to hate and despise one another, Poles and Germans, imprisoned in century-old walls of hostility, are learning to fraternize and cooperate with one another.

Throughout the Soviet Union in 1952 there appeared 8,150 newspapers and 1,400 magazines, with a total circulation of over 50 million copies. Their content is devoted, almost exclusively, to reports and plans of peaceful construction, to art, science, economics, literature, sports, philosophy, and world affairs. None carry items to sicken, or to lower one's moral or intellectual level. They attack everything anti-human and misanthropic. No voice among them lauds the power to kill. Their radio and film are unstained by gunplay and brutality. They dramatize progress, creative labour, and the triumph of man over pain and evil. News to them is everything that strengthens peace, that ennobles human life. They headline new building projects, new schools, new victories in the field of science, as the words and deeds of workers and farmers.

Although surrounded on all sides by American bomber bases and threatened with atomic war, the Soviet people do not display any kind of war hysteria. Foreign correspondents describe them as happy, confident of the future.

While American publications carry maps of Soviet cities, likely targets for bombers, Moscow journals print maps of new Soviet dams, canals, hydro-electric and other construction projects. They feature sober discussions of international problems.

Soviet workers often emphasize their affection for the America of Lincoln, Longfellow, Whitman, and Roosevelt, the America of great scientific advance, of honest, energetic workers.

Peace is cherished and provides themes for songs and symphonies in the countries of socialism. Darya Nemova, a Soviet mother, declared, "Peace means happiness—the smiles of a baby in its cradle, its first steps in life; it means everything we have built with our hands; it means work and love." Peace is the first word children in the Soviet Union learn to spell. They are taught to regard peace and friendship as the highest aim of life.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, composed of farmers and workers of all the republics and nationalities, adopted a law providing severe penalties for the promotion of any war propaganda. It issued an appeal to all Soviet peoples to demand the prohibition of atomic weapons and of war. Over 170 million Soviet citizens put their names to this appeal. Indeed there is no Soviet town or hamlet where people do not meet to discuss ways and means for preventing another war. And the underlying reason for it all is that all the vital needs and internal forces shaping Soviet society dictate a policy of peace and friendship toward all nations.

What are the specific conditions put forth by the Soviet Union as necessary for maintaining world peace? Premier Malenkov, on December 14, 1952, clearly enunciated these as follows: Peaceful co-existence, cooperation, and development of trade between the capitalist and socialist states; the restoration of a single international market and the promotion of business relations with all countries; the conclusion of binding and long-term pacts not to wage war against one another; the prohibition of all war propaganda;

the immediate destruction of all existing stockpiles of atom bombs and cessation of their manufacture, with supervision by United Nations commissions; an immediate cease-fire in Korea and settlement of all outstanding issues through negotiations; a halt to the rearmament of fascist, reactionary German and Japanese monopolists; and finally, the recognition by U.S. policy-makers that the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies must be treated as equals and cannot be dictated to.

Soviet Peace Principles

The Soviet Union insists that one of the first principles for the maintenance of world peace is the equality and mutual respect of all nations, regardless of differences in their political or economic systems. Peace is unthinkable, war becomes inevitable if one state, believing itself more powerful, begins to carry out measures against another which it would not tolerate if they were directed against itself. Andrei A. Gromyko told the U.N. on March 30, 1953 "Peaceful co-existence demands a policy of non-intervention. Nobody tries to tell the United States how to run the U.S. United States statesmen have to accept the fact that in this world there is a huge state building communism. If the American statesmen refuse to accept this and then make statements that they wish to settle international problems, it merely means that they are engaging in double talk."

World peace calls for excluding the possibility of one power ganging up against another by means of alliances or mechanical voting majorities. (In the U.N. Assembly, the Latin American countries, representing 6 per cent of the world's population, cast 40 per cent of the votes; but the USSR and India, who together with China, represent 50 per cent of the world's population, cast 8 per cent of the votes.) This means the recognition of the unanimity principle among the big powers in the U.N. Security Council,

with the veto as a safeguard against such gang-ups. Equality means that just as the Soviet Union cannot claim that its security requires bomber bases in Cuba or Mexico, so the United States cannot claim them in Turkey, Norway, or Formosa.

The Soviet Union takes the position that each people has the right to determine the type of government it prefers. No foreign government can claim the right to send troops to Missouri or Florida to protect its citizens from lynchers. But neither can Washington claim such rights in other countries under the pretext of "maintaining order."

Twenty years ago, the capitalist powers were still willing to commit themselves on what constitutes aggression. The definition proposed by the Soviet Union and approved by the League of Nations Security Committee in May 1953 declared, "The aggressor in an international conflict shall be considered that state which is the *first* to take any of the following actions: (a) Declaration of war against another state. (b) The invasion by its armed forces of the territory of another state, even without declaration of war. (c) Bombarding the territory of another state by its land, naval or air forces, or knowingly attacking the naval or air forces of another state. (d) The establishment of a naval blockade of the coast or ports of another state."

Today, the leading capitalist power, bent on world conquest, avoids like the plague any definition of aggression. Anxious to maintain for itself the freedom of the marauder, Washington declared the above definition invalid and rejected all other proposals sponsored by the Soviet Union which defined an aggressor as "the state which *first* sends troops or weapons to attack or occupy another state." In its June 1951 meeting in Geneva, the American-dominated U.N. International Law Commission reported that "we have failed to find a satisfactory definition of the term aggression. . . . It was impossible to contrive it." The U.S. representative on the commission declared, "It is no simple task to determine when an act of aggression has actually taken place. And it would be a very dangerous thing to define

it." The other imperialist powers, mindful of their unceasing wars against the colonial peoples, merely noted that such definitions were "impractical." Indeed, it was like asking professional assassins to devise the legal definition and penalty for murder.

The Essence of the Conflict

"We seek only peace," said Eisenhower on February 3, 1951. "Our modest preparations cannot be interpreted otherwise." According to Charles E. Wilson, these "modest" efforts to neutralize the "Soviet threat" include 1,100 warships, a 140-wing airforce, a stockpile of atom bombs and an army of 3.5 million. In addition, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Turkey, Greece and Spain have mobilized another 4.5 million troops. U.S. troops are stationed in 49 countries studded by a network of over 600 U.S. military bases. From these, their military boast, "We could blast and erase every target within the Soviet Union." In February 1951, Pentagon men cited figures to show that "the West's capacity is already exceeding that of the Red bloc." "The 500,000 allied soldiers and airmen in Germany have ended Soviet local military superiority and the presence of the 300,000 Soviet soldiers in East Germany is no longer a threat," they conceded.

For what purpose, then, have the total arms expenditures of the NATO powers, for 1953-54, been raised to the staggering sum of \$132,000,000,000? (*New York Times*, December 11, 1953.) Why does the U.S. insist on *continuing* the armament and atomic-hydrogen bomb race, on rushing the building of more bomber bases, on setting the Ruhr war furnaces going full blast again, and—as if all this were not enough—on the restoration of Hitler's Wehrmacht?

At each session of the United Nations the Soviet Union made repeated proposals to the United States to this effect: You assert that you desire peace, not war, that you are arming because the Soviets are a threat. Very well, we

shall abolish this threat by disarming. We shall allow your representatives and those of the United Nations to establish headquarters within the Soviet Union, travel wherever they please to count all our troops and weapons; we shall destroy our bombs and melt our guns before your very eyes. Moreover, we shall permit you the right of supervision to see that none of our factories produces any armaments beyond hunting rifles. We agree to all that and more, provided you agree to the same, provided you agree to stop the arms race and to make the arms census a part of a general disarmament agreement.

The Washington leaders, eager to maintain their peace mask before the world, replied in substance: We pursue no aim except that of world peace and disarmament. Any statements to the contrary are malicious Communist lies. Indeed, we are only too anxious to accept your proposal, with one slight modification, however, and that is only a matter of *timing*. We propose first to institute a general arms census, to inspect and count your troops and weapons and prepare elaborate statistical tables. *After* completing these phases of our work, which, of course, may take some years, we agree to start talks about actual disarmament. In the meantime, we express our regret at our inability to accept any binding agreements on halting our current war preparations.

Washington still clings to the proposition that any disarmament plan must be preceded by "intelligence reports," on "stage-by-stage disclosure and verification of the armed forces": that is, on preliminary tours by American generals to inspect and take a full inventory of Soviet defences and armed forces. Once this is completed, Washington *promises to negotiate*—not full disarmament, but a "balanced" disarmament. The Soviet Union correctly stamped this as a phoney disarmament plan, advanced for the purpose of obtaining intelligence reports.

The Soviet U.N. resolutions of March and November 1953, calling for an *immediate disarmament pact to be fol-*

lowed by inspection—like many previous ones—was again voted down in the U.N.

The situation is like a meeting between representatives of two opposing armies to prevent an impending battle between them. One proposes that both sides start dropping their weapons on a common pile, while a neutral commission simultaneously assures that factories engaged in manufacture of death instruments are converted to peaceful production. The other, under the pretext of not trusting his opponent, replies: I refuse to drop any of my weapons, or even to enter into any binding agreements on that score, until I first examine the number and the kind of weapons on your side. Such, in essence, is the difference between the Soviet and the American disarmament proposals.

The U.S. rejected the Soviet proposal to cut arms by one-third. "This would weaken our security," asserted the State Department. But would either of two squads of soldiers, each armed with 18 guns, become weaker in relation to the other if each dropped six of them?

It can be set down as a fixed rule, valid for both ancient and modern times, that a government desiring peace seeks and eagerly accepts every opportunity to negotiate, but one determined on war either stalls or refuses to negotiate. Since 1945, U.S. diplomacy has centred its main efforts on inventing pretexts for abrogating peace agreements previously reached and for rejecting clear-cut Soviet offers to negotiate. In 1953, most U.S. policy-makers flatly declared that "It is pointless to carry on discussions with the Soviet Union"; some frankly asserted, "What is there to negotiate with a government one seeks to destroy?" Hence, apart from the feverish war preparations themselves, nothing illustrated so clearly that the United States was hell-bent for war than the methods it used and the reasons it gave for rejecting the Soviet peace and disarmament offers. From 1945 on, the USSR directed some 46 peace proposals to the U.S.A. Each dealt with the systematic reduction and international control of armament production, the banning of

the atomic bomb and war propaganda, the peaceful settlement of the German problem, and the conclusion of a peace pact among the great powers not to wage war against one another. Each of these proposals was answered by Washington with a speed-up in war preparations.

Walter Lippmann explained the failure of the United States and the USSR to agree on the ground that "there cannot be such a thing as an agreement to limit or to reduce armaments unless it is founded upon an agreement which limits or reduces the real conflicts among the nations." This was also the core of every U.S. reply to Soviet peace and disarmament proposals. But it does not take much thought to realize that this is a hypocritical evasion of the real issue—namely, how to prevent aggression or a third world war, how to remove insecurity and rising war tensions. The thesis "that it is impossible to reduce armaments until conflicts are reduced," is absurd because feverish war preparations are themselves *the primary issue and the essence of the conflict*. As to the secondary issues, they cease to exist or cease to lead to conflicts the moment each nation reduces its capacity to impose its will upon any other nation by force of arms.

The very assertion that the existence of conflicting issues between nations necessitates armament races denies the possibility of attaining world peace. For it is not conflict in the abstract which leads to international war (one can enumerate countless conflicts which do not lead to bloodshed), but the concrete plans and preparations of men for whom the settling of conflicts by force of arms is a profitable enterprise.

Fundamentally the policies of the American imperialists are based on the credo that they can abolish *their* conflicts with the rest of the world, gain world domination, by stockpiling and if necessary employing means for turning the planet into an atomic graveyard. Although still in hot pursuit of this objective, it is already far beyond their reach. Obviously force of arms may "settle" issues between a weaker and a stronger power, to the satisfaction of the

latter. But no matter how it strains itself, the United States can never hope to attain absolute superiority in effective weapons over the USSR. An armament race in itself can no longer alter the *relation* of forces between the United States and the USSR.

If the United States had, say, two million troops, 5,000 planes, 10,000 tanks, and 100 atomic bombs in 1950 it will not be a whit stronger in relation to the USSR in 1956 when the respective figures will have risen to six million, 50,000, 100,000 and 2,000. Instead, it may even weaken itself in the process.

German Tinderbox

To prevent Germany from taking once more the road to aggression, or from serving as a tool for war provocations the Soviets are proposing the establishment of a united democratic Germany—a Germany possessing modest defensive military forces and pledged not to enter into any coalition or line up either with the East or the West.

Moscow is not asking for a socialist or pro-Soviet Germany as a condition for unity, but for a peaceful and neutral Germany, not pledged to fight anyone; a Germany whose people shall have the right to determine, without foreign intervention, what type of social order they prefer, provided it is non-fascist. Washington replies that it too desires the unity of East and West Germany and the withdrawal of occupation troops—provided Germany is rearmed, becomes a member of the anti-Soviet North Atlantic pact, and is dedicated to a revanchist policy directed to the East—in short, conditions so outrageous as to make a settlement impossible.

Some ruling circles in France and Britain, fearing the consequences of Washington's infatuation with German fascist militarism, at first declared that the Soviet proposals "seem reasonable" and provide a basis for negotiations. Besides, some of them argued, there are only 18 million

Germans in the East, while there are 48 million in the West, so "What are we afraid of?" Washington quickly dashed their suggestions as "foolish," and Eden, like Schuman, Adenauer, Franco and Salazar, echoed, "Talks with the Russians are useless. Agreement would be appeasement."

The USSR nevertheless continued to press for settlement through negotiations. In October 1950, it requested that the Council of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the U.S. and USSR convene to examine the German demilitarization question. Washington could not reject the proposal outright because public opinion in France and England, alarmed by U.S. restoration of German militarism, overwhelmingly favoured such a conference.

Seven weeks passed, and Washington finally replied that it doubted the usefulness of such a conference. The Soviet reply came within eight hours. Again, it suggested that a four-power meeting be held on the subject. This time the State Department delayed its reply for another three weeks, again expressing doubts about the purpose of the negotiations. Its unofficial spokesmen wrote that "peace talks with the Soviet Union are senseless." Finally, however, Washington consented to a Paris meeting, not of the foreign ministers but of their deputies, who were to prepare the preliminary agenda for a later meeting of the ministers themselves.

In the meantime, during the eleven weeks of delay, Washington hastily summoned its allies to a conference in Brussels (in December 1950). There it demanded their agreement to accept the rearmament of Western Germany as a *fait accompli*, and made sure of this by releasing and putting on its payroll contingents of Hitlerite war criminals who were still imprisoned.

Even before the Soviets presented their proposals at the Palais Rose in Paris, the *New York Times* hastened to declare that the conference would fail because "Andrei Gromyko is nothing more than a puppet whose strings are pulled by the politbureau in Moscow"! In other words, agreement would be possible if Gromyko represented the

United States instead of the USSR! It gave advance notice that there was nothing to negotiate about by asserting, "The rearmament of Germany will be pursued even if the conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers takes place."

The Soviets had suggested that the conference discuss ways and means of halting the renazification and rearmament of Western Germany. These steps, it maintained, would lead to another war in Europe. The United States replied that German rearmament was beyond the stage of discussion. The Soviets then proposed that the conference take up disarmament in general, war bases, and the Atlantic Pact. The United States countered with a proposal that "Soviet armed strength and that of its satellites be taken up instead."

Good, answered the Soviets. In view of the U.S. war preparations, we too are forced to raise our armed strength; will the U.S. agree to disarm if we do? Will the U.S. stop building bomber bases near our borders if we agree to disarm? "We are ready to discuss and lay open all our treaties with China and the People's Democracies; will the U.S. discuss the Atlantic Pact Treaties?" These concrete offers were labelled by the imperialist press as "vague and dangerous"; "only Soviet obstinacy," it charged, "prevented an agreement."

On April 24, 1951, Churchill, in a final effort to cow the Soviets into submission, issued a statement that "The air bases America has obtained from France in Tripoli would bring a tremendous potential attack with the atomic bomb upon the most vulnerable parts of Russia, including its oil fields." This, while the British representative, Mr. I. Davis, sat down with the Soviet representative, ostensibly to discuss the lowering of international tensions. "Churchill's language is the language of Hitler," replied Gromyko. "When plans are discussed for dropping atom bombs on Soviet territory, the Soviet delegate has a right to discuss this matter." But Washington replied, "American bomber bases are no concern of the Soviet Union!"

Imagine the Soviet Union boasting of plans to bomb American cities and actually establishing air bases for that purpose in Canada, Cuba, Mexico and other nearby areas! Imagine the United States politely asking the Soviet Union for a conference to discuss the threat which these bases form to its security and the Soviet Union rejecting it! James Reston, a semi-official State Department spokesman, remarked with an air of child-like innocence: "Just why the Russians should have argued for the inclusion of U.S. air bases on the agenda is not clear. . . . The Russians, with their genius for stretching agendas, presumably could argue that the basing of American bombers in Turkey added to their feeling of tension."

The State Department men stood their ground, insisting they would discuss anything under the sun except disarmament, the Atlantic Pact, or bomber bases. They refused to put these questions on the agenda of a foreign ministers' meeting even as items of disagreement, and broke up the conference with the statement that there was no practical utility in continuing peace negotiations. As the 74 meetings of the deputy foreign ministers adjourned *without reaching one single point of agreement*, armament stocks on the New York Stock Exchange shot up to their highest levels of the year.

On March 26, 1952, the Soviet Union again proposed that Germany be re-established as a unified state and permitted to develop as an independent democratic country; that the occupying powers withdraw their troops not later than one year from the date of the peace treaty, and that simultaneously, all foreign military bases on German territory be liquidated; that the new state guarantee all basic freedoms—of speech, press, religion, political convictions, the right of assembly, and grant freedom of action to all democratic parties and organizations; finally, that Germany obligate itself not to enter into any kind of coalition or military alliance directed against any power which took part in the war against it,

Washington replied on April 9, 1952 that, of course, it

wanted a "united, democratic and independent Germany." But, it declared, the United States "cannot accept any provision forbidding Germany to associate itself with other nations for peaceful purposes," that is, to become a member of the Atlantic war pact. In the *New York Herald Tribune*, Russel Hill underscored Washington hypocrisy by writing, "The U.S. went on record in favour of German unity and free elections because that is what German public opinion wants. But the U.S. does not want free elections now because that would upset the apple cart." And this, he underscored, is the restoration of the German military machine. Evidently what Washington had in mind is the kind of independence and democracy prevailing in Greece, Franco Spain, and South Korea.

Reflecting the opinion of the American military in Western Germany, the same newspaper wrote, "Even if Soviet troops pull back behind their own borders, they would be a lot closer to Western Europe than American troops across the Atlantic." Hence it concluded that "even if Russia were to pull out all Soviet troops from Eastern Germany and agree to hold free elections and give up the German Democratic Republic, the allies could not be prepared to accept it." In other words, Washington's security calls for the permanent occupation of Western Europe. "If Moscow proposes a German settlement that meets our terms," wrote the *New York Times* correspondent, A. H. McCormick [and Moscow did], "unification, free elections, demilitarization, withdrawal of occupation troops," the United States cannot accept because "it would slow down our military programme. . . . It would put us in a difficult position," since "it would be tempting to people looking for an easier alternative to war," A peaceful settlement is impossible because it might prevent a war! "If European tension abated," added Walter Lippmann, "the American people would lose interest in Europe." And "the U.S.," he admitted, "is like an undertaker who would worry because the doctors take so much trouble trying to reduce the death rate."

In a later series of notes, the USSR again warned the Western powers that by rearming Germany, *the United States was creating an intolerable situation*. Each time, Washington replied that the threat to world peace does not come from the rearmament of the German and Japanese fascists but from the Eastern countries, that is, from the victims of fascist aggression.

Washington opposes a unified, democratic Germany because it realizes that such a Germany would not serve as a tinder-box for a new war explosion. It also fears that the influence of the anti-fascist, anti-war spirited youth of the German Democratic Republic upon the young people of Western Germany would increase, were they united. It therefore hastened to make the East-West breach final and close the doors to further negotiations. On July 1, 1952, the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 77 to 5, ratified the so-called Bonn contractual agreement. The United States was the first among the NATO powers to do so, hoping thereby to push its partners into quick action. The agreement provides for continued U.S. occupation, for re-establishment of an army headed by Nazi generals, and for incorporating Western Germany in the NATO bloc.

More was provided for unofficially. Large contingents of fascist war criminals were retrained and armed to serve the notorious Project X scheme for sabotage and the creation of "revolts and riots" in the German Democratic Republic, in Czechoslovakia, etc. One such group was exposed by Minister President August Zinn of Hesse. On October 8, 1952, he revealed that U.S. authorities had provided funds and weapons and supervised the training of a terrorist youth organization, headed by Hitlerites, for the purpose of assassinating Socialists, Communists, and liberals. The organization kept a card index of victims marked for death. Among its intended victims were also some bourgeois leaders opposed to the rearmament of Western Germany and war against the Soviet Union. These revelations, the *New York Times* admitted on October 9, 1952, "have caused the U.S. State Department and the Army considerable em-

barrassment." Earlier, on March 13, 1952, Robert C. Doty of the same newspaper reported: "A training school was established in Strassburg for the leaders of the future reconquest of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe." He added that they "express hopes for early outbreak of the war, as they are pessimistic of the chances for liberation of their homeland by internal revolt."

On June 17, 1953, Washington's Project X men staged their graduation exercises. Its agents swarmed from their West-zone nests into East Berlin. Before that, some of them had already infiltrated among groups of dissident East Berlin workers and middle class elements to organize a demonstration supposedly for higher wages and lower work norms. The East German police and the Soviet occupation forces permitted the demonstration to take place. They did not intervene until fascist provocateurs produced flasks of gasoline and set fire to a number of buildings. The Bonn-Washington press was provided with banner headlines on "big uprisings" in Eastern Germany. But the main U.S. objective, the kindling of a civil war in East Germany, failed to materialize. The vast majority of the workers disassociated themselves from the provocateurs.

The time and place of this provocation were not accidental. In Korea an armistice agreement was about to be signed. All over the world mass sentiment seethed against Washington's pending execution of the Rosenbergs. In Italy the vote of the left-wing bloc rose to its highest level. Among the West German people the Soviet proposal for peaceful re-unification was gaining ever more support. Churchill proposed a Four Power conference. The position of the Rhee-Adenauer-Eisenhower war bloc was becoming shaky. Walter Lippmann wrote, "the entire West European diplomatic picture is on the verge of imminent breakdown."

Breakdown because the Soviet Union insisted on countering U.S. war schemes with steps to lessen war tensions. In June 1953, it appointed a civilian High Commissioner to Berlin and relaxed East-West traffic regulations. The Soviet Union also removed military control in its Austrian occu-

pation zone. It resumed relations with Greece, Yugoslavia, and Israel. It notified the Turkish government that the USSR made no demands on the border provinces of Kars and Ardahar and suggested a meeting of the Montreux Convention signatories.

In June 1953, the leaders of the German Democratic Republic introduced a series of measures to correct past administrative and policy mistakes. These errors, they frankly admitted, had arisen out of their preoccupation with long-range objectives and neglect of the workers' short-range needs. For one, their concentration on the rapid expansion of heavy industry had led to a temporary dislocation in agriculture. Production norms were pushed upward without first gaining the workers' approval.

On June 11, 1953, the *New York Times* reported that East Germany's Premier Grotewohl had declared amnesty for political prisoners, eased travel to and from the West, opened East German shops to West Germans, offered restoration of property to those who had gone to West Germany, cut food prices, and offered short-term loans to retail and wholesale merchants in order to increase the sale of consumers' goods. These steps, which paralleled the overall Soviet policy of peace and conciliation, threw Bonn and Washington into turmoil. "The Soviet government's sharp reversal of tactics in East Germany," that newspaper reported on June 12, 1953, "has spread confusion and fear in the ranks of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Government coalition. . . . The fear generated today in Bonn was that . . . Moscow's retreat from the policy of Sovietization at this stage . . . prepared the ground for . . . a four-power solution to the German problem," and held forth "*the temptation to the German people of an early solution to the problem of the reunification of their country.*" [Emphasis mine.—H.D.M.]

Subsequent admissions by various correspondents revealed the purpose the riots were to serve. Until June 17, the Soviet policy to bring about a lessening of tension in Austria, East Germany and elsewhere was keeping the

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Western powers on their toes. The riots, noted the *Herald Tribune* on June 18, "are expected to disrupt the schedule of Russia's peace offensive and give the Western powers more time to meet it." On June 23, the *New York Times* wrote, "Many Western observers believe that the United States propaganda station in Berlin, RIAS, played a vital role in the events last week." The *U.S. News and World Report* observed on June 26: "Western agents may have helped stir up the East Germans. The allied investment in Berlin is paying dividends. . . . Big Four talks? Less chance for a while." That was the most they could admit.

Atom Bomb Deadlock

Since 1947 the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has been considering the U.S. Baruch-Lilienthal plan and the Soviet plan for the outlawing of atomic weapons. Both plans allegedly provide for an agreement to prohibit the use of atom bombs and for strict international inspection of all atomic plants. Yet each side claims that the other is blocking a settlement. "Why can no agreement be reached?

On carefully examining both proposals, one is startled by the discovery that the chief reason for lack of agreement is that while the Soviet proposal provides for outlawing the atom bomb, the American plan calls for the continued production of atom bombs!

The American, or so-called Baruch plan was prepared by the executives of some of Wall Street's biggest trusts—Ferdinand Eberstadt, of Dillon Reed; Lewis Strauss, of Kohn Loeb; Fred Searles, of Newmont Mining; John Hancock, of Lehman Brothers; Charles A. Thomas, of the Monsanto Chemical Company; Harold A. Winne, of General Electric; and Chester R. Barnard, of New York Telephone Company, as by various directors of the Rockefeller, Morgan, and Guggenheim trusts—and deriving huge profits from the atom and hydrogen bomb industry. As shown by James S.

Allen, the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful ends would ruin many "major banks and corporations, existing electric empires, the established fuels, like coke, coal and oil, the standard power equipment business"; in short, atomic ovens harnessed for large-scale peace projects would vaporize the assets of these trusts.

The American plan, therefore, is so framed as to create a surface impression that it advocates outlawing of atomic weapons, but to make this impossible in practice. It calls for an international control commission, independent of and not responsible to the United Nations Security Council. This commission would assume ownership of all the world's atomic energy installations and uranium deposits. Its function, however, the American plan specifies, should not be limited merely to making the production of atomic bombs impossible; the Commission would also be empowered to ration and limit the amount of atomic energy each country is to use for peaceful purposes: that is, put Soviet utilization of atomic energy for peaceful ends under, what amounts to, Wall Street control.

The jokers in this proposal are quite obvious. First, since the international commission would be dominated by the United States, by the votes of such "neutral and independent" countries as Cuba, Venezuela, or even Chiang Kai-shek's representative, Washington could at any time create a pretext for asserting that the USSR broke the agreement, and condemn it as an aggressor. Second, why does the United States demand that *its* commission also *own* the Soviet atomic plants? Its answer is "because we don't trust the Soviet Union." But is this the real reason? Now, the Soviet Union certainly has no grounds for trusting the United States either. Besides, if either the United States or the USSR started to produce atom bombs again, what good would the title of ownership be? Could foreign troops exercise authority of ownership in the name of the U.N. over mines and factories within the United States or the USSR? Thus, from the standpoint of "trusting," of safety, the U.S. ownership clause is both unworkable and absurd.

Why, then, does Washington insist upon this point? Could it be because this clause eventually might serve as legal cover for demanding a *Collier's*-type occupation of the Soviet Union by the U.N.? In any event, for the time being, it serves the purpose of blocking agreement, for continuing the atom-hydrogen bomb race.

The next joker in the American proposal is on the question of actual prohibition of the atom bomb. The Baruch plan declares that, while the commission is engaged in inspecting and taking over control and ownership of atomic plants, bomb production is to go on as before. Negotiations to prohibit the employment or production of the bomb come "later," after the United States agrees that everything is to its satisfaction.

It takes but little reflection to see what this means. The United States wants a period of years to elapse during which it will go on producing atomic bombs and be free to employ them wherever and whenever it chooses. During this indeterminate period, its agents will be free to inspect the Soviet atomic installations and obtain the kind of information ordinarily unavailable to them. (And bear in mind that a country fearing aggression—unlike one preparing for aggression—cannot afford to reveal the terrain of its defenses unless certain that it will not be attacked.) Finally, after the U.S.-dominated commission has thoroughly inspected and taken over control of Soviet atomic mines and factories, Washington can still raise almost any pretext it wants for refusing to outlaw the atom bomb.

The U.S.-sponsored disarmament plan presented at the U.N. on April 5, 1952, thus calls for "starting with *aerial surveys of the USSR* and the location of atomic factories." It contained no guarantee that the U.S., after the Pentagon obtained its desired blue-prints of the USSR, would conclude an agreement to outlaw the bomb. Moreover, each time Washington proposed an arms and atom-bomb count, it also reassured the bomb manufacturers that "the Soviets would not accept the plan anyhow," at times even admitting that the plan was so framed as to make it unacceptable.

The Soviet plan provides for a permanent international commission, responsible to the United Nations Security Council, to control and supervise all the world's atomic plants. The commission would have the authority to go anywhere it pleases within the U.S.A. or the Soviet Union, regardless of the desire of the respective governments. The U.N. commission, the Soviet plan specifies, "would have continuous access to inspect and examine all mines and factories, to weigh, measure, and check all data, to analyze every minute detail and make certain that no atomic weapons are being produced." It would be endowed with broad and extensive powers to warn, to recommend sanctions and penalties for infractions or violations.

Simultaneously with the establishment of this international control commission, the Soviet plan calls for each power to ban the use and stop the production of atom bombs. It calls for an immediate agreement to empower the control commission to destroy the bombs already stockpiled and to make certain that no others are manufactured.

Such are the main features of the plan which was advanced by the Soviet Union from 1949 onward.* It insists that the two steps, the international outlawing of the atomic bomb and the setting up of control and inspection, must take place *simultaneously*. It does so because it fears that the United States may afterward refuse to pledge never to use the bomb.

The difference between U.S. and Soviet attitudes on this point may be illustrated thus: Let us imagine a card game with most of the players worried because the stakes have risen to a dangerously high level, threatening ruin and the breakup of friendly relations. Several of them make a proposal for the benefit of all concerned: "Let us stop gambling, tear up the cards, and use the money for the common welfare of our families." "I agree to this proposition," replies one of the players (who is gambling for the highest stakes and is under the impression that he can walk away with

* Copies of the Soviet and American disarmament and atom bomb proposals may be obtained by writing to the United Nations.

the fortunes of the others), "but I do not agree to tear up the cards until I examine the cards held by my opponent. This may take some time. Meanwhile the game and the betting must go on. And even after I have carefully checked everyone's cards, I refuse to guarantee that I will agree to tear them up. On this we shall negotiate later on." Such is the essence of Wall Street's "honest" proposal to outlaw the atom bomb.

But it is even more fraudulent than that. On November 17, 1951, Washington placed before the U.N. General Assembly a plan cynically headed "Peace Through Deeds." It provided that the Atomic Energy Commission "have the right to *conduct scientific research in the development and employment of atomic weapons.*" Thus, the agency which was to outlaw the atomic bomb, was to go on perfecting it! "What sort of an international control agency to supervise the prohibition of atomic weapons is this," asked Vyshinsky, "if it is itself to have the right to manufacture atomic weapons? And for what purpose? And what remains here of the just demand of all peoples, the demand of the conscience and honour of humanity—ban the atomic weapon?"

Turning toward the U.S. representative, Vyshinsky declared at the United Nations on February 14, 1952, "Millions upon millions of people throughout the world desperately long to hear the sacred words to emerge from these halls, announcing the unconditional prohibition of the atom bomb, the destruction of all atom bombs, establishment of control and drawing up of a convention where all this is said, and after the convention is signed, the immediate verification of all atomic establishments. As to general disarmament, our armed forces are half of the numerical strength of the armed forces of the U.S., Britain and France. If you want to know exactly, please sign the agreement which we propose for the reduction of armaments and armed forces, prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of international control, and we will lay on the table all the figures to the last machine gun, to the last soldier, and then you can verify what our armed forces are like and whether

your judgment is right . . . and so let us sign the agreement right here at this very same table." But as Vyshinsky spoke, Acheson left the U.N. chambers to join Eisenhower in a NATO military conference in Rome, called for the purpose of expanding the Atlantic Pact armies from 40 to 100 divisions.

On August 15, 1952, Washington notified the peoples of the entire world that it refuses to make any pledge not to use atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons. "If men fight to kill, it is not easy to regulate how they shall kill," declared Benjamin Cohen for the United States at the U.N., adding that "my government does not believe in informing . . . what kind of force law-abiding states will or will not use to suppress aggression." The 1925 Geneva protocol, signed by 48 states and ratified by 42, forbidding the use of bacteriological weapons and poison gases, was characterized as "obsolete" by Ernest Gross, another U.S. representative at the U.N. He even "refused to give an implied pledge that the U.S., in keeping with the spirit of the protocol, would not use bacteriological warfare unless the enemy used it first," reported the Associated Press.

In the winter of 1952-53, as the Eisenhower-Dulles team spoke of spreading the war in Asia, Moscow again reminded Washington of the possibility of maintaining world peace. On December 24, 1952, in reply to an inquiry by the diplomatic editor of the *New York Times*, Stalin reaffirmed the Soviet position by declaring, "I believe that war between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union cannot be regarded as inevitable. Our countries can continue to live in peace." He proposed ending the cold war and the conclusion of a peace pact between the great powers. The State Department retorted that "such a pact appears to be unnecessary in view of the U.N. Charter." A five-power pact, warned the *New York Times*, "would hamstring the West and advance the cause of communism." It also featured a declaration by Kerensky, Premier of the short-lived Menshevik Government, that "the cold war has given the U.S. and the West an increasingly high standard of living. A let-up in the

cold war would seriously affect the economy of the West, would aggravate antagonisms and rivalries in the NATO powers."

After Stalin's death, his peace proposals were reaffirmed by Malenkov and the members of the Supreme Soviet. Washington, always portraying these offers as "wily Soviet war moves," suddenly found it expedient to characterize the very same proposals as "a shift in Soviet policy." The U.S. press wrote of "a genuine Soviet peace offensive." Washington's belated reference to Soviet peace desires came out of the stalemate in Korea, a growing isolation from its allies (especially Britain) and out of need for a breathing spell to rearrange the messed-up Pentagon war timetable.

But the oblique admission that it is the Soviets who initiate peace offensives boomeranged. On April 3, 1953, Eisenhower was called upon to deliver a peace talk of his own. He enumerated the number of homes, schools and hospitals that could be built with the money wasted on guns and bombs. Peace and disarmament, he admitted, ought to be attained through negotiations. But as a precondition for such negotiations, he demanded that the Soviet Union agree to the rearmament of Western Germany, its incorporation in the NATO alliance and a disarmament plan based on a preliminary inventory of the Soviet war potential by American generals. He also demanded that Moscow accede to Washington's Austrian peace treaty—a treaty that provides for turning over 40 per cent of Austria's industries to the West German monopolies (who obtained title to these assets during the Hitler occupation period), and for retaining American jet fighter bases in Austria (which, the London-Washington press had boasted, would serve as a pivot for "liberating" all of Southeast Europe).

Walter Millis of the New York *Herald Tribune* noted that Eisenhower's speech represented "not a proposal for co-existence with the Communist empire, but for the latter's extinction." James Reston outlined the "new" Eisenhower peace policy as one "of mischief short of total war," but "not to proclaim publicly that our aim is to liberate

the enslaved peoples because this would alert the enemy" and "would enable him to accuse us of planning to intervene in their internal affairs." The new Eisenhower policy, he wrote, "is to confuse the Kremlin . . . by sending propaganda balloons behind the iron curtain, the flooding of Communist China with bogus money, staging atomic tests. . . ."

In August 1953 it became known that the USSR had set off a thermonuclear, hydrogen bomb explosion. Once more the fond illusions of the single-tracked imperialist planners lay shattered. American knowhow, they had deluded themselves, as others, could not be equalled or surpassed. But Lewis L. Strauss, speaking for the Atomic Energy Commission, found it necessary to admit on October 1, 1953, that "Russia had begun developing a thermonuclear device before the U.S. started its hydrogen bomb project." Flabbergasted Washington spokesmen, nevertheless, continued talking of Soviet science as depending on the "stealing of secret U.S. formulas."

In September 1953 the Soviets once more presented to the United Nations a proposal for outlawing mass destruction weapons. It was followed by a call from V. K. Krishna Menon, U.N. representative of India, that the U.N. Assembly prohibit germ, poison, atomic and hydrogen bomb warfare. He also proposed a Big Four informal meeting to negotiate a settlement. On September 28, Churchill reiterated his desire for a Big Four Power conference.

On October 19, 1953 the U.S., Britain and France, in reply to another Soviet note urging a Five Power conference to discuss disarmament and lowering of world tensions, proposed a Four Power meeting at Lugano, Switzerland, for the purpose "of reaching a solution to the Austrian and German questions." Their note rejected the Soviet request to take up disarmament and the prohibition of mass destruction weapons since "this is being dealt with by the U.N. General Assembly."

State Department officials suggested that the U.S., to demonstrate its peaceful intentions and allay Soviet fears

of being attacked, might be willing to sign a non-aggression pact (provided it can go on building bases around the Soviet perimeter, rearming the Bonn Nazis, etc.)

The Soviet reply came on November 5, 1953. The Soviets asked of the U.S. why it refuses to discuss the widening network of bases around the Soviet borders, the rearmament of German Hitlerites, the atom and hydrogen bomb race, all of which intensify the danger of a third World War? If these items are not to be discussed what, the Soviet note asked, would be the purpose of the conference? The Dulles men characterized the Soviet reply as grim, obstinate and as dismissing the chances for further peace negotiations.

On November 10, 1953, the Soviets proposed that the U.N. Disarmament Commission turn in, within four months, a plan for reducing conventional weapons and for prohibiting mass destruction weapons. "The same old story," retorted Lodge, chief U.S. representative at the U.N., while mustering his Latin-American puppets for voting down the Soviet proposal.

On November 29, 1953, the United Nations rejected a Soviet resolution calling for a world-wide disarmament conference, for prohibiting atomic bomb production, for cutting all armed forces by one-third, and for condemning all propaganda for a new world war. The *New York Times* reported on November 30, that on the insistence of the U.S. representative, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (supported by Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Britain and the Latin American bloc), "it (the UN) overruled its president, Vijaya Laskhmi Pandit of India, to give the floor to Andrei Y. Vyshinsky for an explanation of the Soviet resolution." The vote was 5 in favour, 19 against and 17 abstentions—most of the latter by members of the Asian-African group.

In a speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 15, 1953, Eisenhower proposed "a new road" for solving the atomic bomb deadlock. "The United States," he declared, "is willing to contribute fissionable material to a common pool to be used for peaceful purposes under the supervision of the United Nations." This, Walter

Lippman commented, "did away with our former utopian proposals. Under the Baruch Plan," he admitted, "we intended to improve our atomic armaments and not to disarm." "Eisenhower's new scheme," he wrote, "if the Soviet Union is willing to accept it, might achieve some of what the old scheme (the Baruch Plan) was designed to do. . . . *The President's new proposal is that the tension of the atomic race should be lowered without attempting or pretending at this time to end the race.*" (Emphasis mine—H.D.M.)

If it is not to end the race, what then is the main purpose of the new Eisenhower plan? Lippman more than hinted at this by writing: "The willingness and the ability of the various nations to contribute surplus atomic material to an international agency, the rate of delivery and the continuity of it, might be indices of atomic production." i.e., serve the U.S. as a source of intelligence.

Immediately following his speech before the U.N., Eisenhower issued a warning to the mayors of 75 cities to mobilize their fire, hospital, police, and sanitation departments for a possible full scale atomic war. On December 18, 1953, he issued a directive to the FBI and the public "to guard against valise bombs or atomic weapons and explosives that might be smuggled into this country."

On the eve of the Four Power conference, that began on January 24, 1954 in Berlin, the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* wrote: "White House talk dealt with the over-all topic of enabling Secretary Dulles to lead from strength rather than from weakness in his conversations with the Russians during the next fortnight. To this end, the military observers pointed out that from the utterances of the President and his advisers, dispatch of B-61's to West German bases will provide the U.S. with no less than five means of delivering, if required, atomic destruction from bases in Europe." The *N. Y. Times*, on January 21, 1954, reported: "The nation's 'new look' air force is planning a world-wide chain of storage bases for its special weapons, including atomic bombs, it was disclosed today."

The loss of the big bomb monopoly left most Pentagon men as though suspended in mid-air. They could no more bully or blackmail as heretofore. But they continued to answer to every Soviet formula for attaining peace through disarmament with the formula of peace through poison gases, plague germs and atomic bombs. Its officials speculated more feverishly on targets and bases, declaring that the arms race will be speeded up with emphasis on atomic weapons. "Peace will follow the breakup of the Russian empire" wrote the *U.S. News and World Report*. Walter Lippmann prescribed a stronger strategic air force. And the *New York Times* resolved that "retreat will not save us. If freedom can be defended only by the shedding of blood, then men will so defend it." Such is the nature of Wall Street's grim illusion, the illusion that the bomb will destroy the people and not the people the bomb.*

"The Soviet Union menaces world peace because it did not demobilize its armed forces." As soon as the war ended, this became a standard Wall Street cry in urging Congress toward ever-higher armament spending. No Hitler lie was ever more vicious or absurd. For no people was happier to cast off the military uniform after the last war. Millions of Soviet citizens returned to battle-scarred, desolate towns and villages to clear the land of ruins. Having endured the tortures of fascist aggression, having lost 15 million lives, no people sought more eagerly to forget war and armaments.

A Strange Aggressor

The Soviet armed forces which crushed Hitler's Wehrmacht were close to 12 million strong. By October 1946, the Soviets had demobilized 30 age groups, or about 83 per cent

* "The birth of the atom bomb," said Mao Tse-tung, "marks the beginning of the end of the American imperialists. For they base their calculations on the bomb and not on the people. In the end, it is not the bomb that will destroy the people, but the people who will destroy the bomb."

of their wartime forces. In 1951, even Attlee, anxious to exaggerate the size of the Red Army gave its number as 2.8 million, thus admitting that 77 per cent had been demobilized. In 1951 Soviet armed forces were no bigger than in 1939—i.e., 2.5 million—while those of Britain, France, and the United States stood at five million, or three times the 1939 figures. Nevertheless, Washington continued to claim that the 2.5 million Soviet troops guarding the 36,000-mile-long USSR frontiers menaced the security of the United States. In 1951, France, with less than one-fifteenth of the Soviet frontier, had 22 soldiers, the United States, flanked by two oceans, had 18 soldiers and the USSR, 12 soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants.*

Ever since 1945, another standard Anglo-American argument for rearmament has been the "ease" with which the Red Army could rush into the "vacuum" created by the defeat of Hitler—Paris within five days, Iran in two days, to the Suez in a week. "Just as fast as a car can drive," is the way American military experts described the speed with which Russian divisions could cross Germany and France to the English channel. Walter Kerr reported them as testifying in 1951, "There was no European defence force, no commanding general, no staff, no headquarters, no strategic plan—nothing that could have prevented an aggressive Soviet army from overrunning Western Europe in a matter of hours."

But the strange "aggressor" did not move or threaten to move a single soldier across any country's frontiers. The only Soviet troops outside the USSR were in Germany and

* According to the United Nations European Economic Commission Report for 1951, 49 per thousand of the working population were engaged in the armed forces or their supply in the U.S.S.R., 74 in the U.S.A. and 82 in Britain. Similarly, the Soviet Union's military expenditures decreased from 32 per cent of the national budget in 1940 to 24 per cent in 1946, 19 per cent in 1949, and 18 per cent in 1950. Czechoslovakia spent 5 per cent, Poland one per cent, and Hungary 0.6 per cent of their national incomes for defence. (United Nations Economic Surveys of Europe, 1948-1950)

Austria, and these it proposed to withdraw as soon as peace treaties were signed.

The strange Soviet "aggressor" watches the U.S.A., a non-European power, move troops and weapons 3,000 miles to rearm the very criminals who only yesterday ravaged its land. Would the United States wait and permit another power to rearm a neighbour who had twice invaded and devastated our country, killing millions of its citizens? Could any measures to prevent this be condemned as illegal or immoral? But the Soviet Union, despite its moral and legal rights, has refrained from sterner measures than protests and diplomatic notes. Hanson Baldwin commented: "Still another reason why the Communists seem unlikely to precipitate a war in Europe this spring is the *slow down* of the allied programme for the military strengthening and political integration of Western Europe." This in effect constitutes an admission that the NATO programme is designed not to check any Soviet aggression but to provoke the Soviet Union into a war.

The truth is that Wall Street's plans for a third world war were hatched while the second World War was still in progress. They were hatched before the alibi of "Soviet aggression" was invented, while Rumania still had its king, while Hungary and Czechoslovakia were still governed by bourgeois parties, while Eastern Europe still lay in smoking ruins.* It was hatched after Stalingrad, when it became clear to world reaction, to the Duke of Bedford as to Krupp and Dulles, that their second anti-Soviet crusade, too, had miscarried. Dulles has boasted more than once that the group he represents was instrumental in breaking up the Big Four foreign ministers' conference held in London in 1946, and in undermining the Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam agreements.

* On February 1, 1947, Dana H. Schmidt reported in the *New York Times* that Washington circles regard "the area around the head of the Persian Gulf as eminently suitable for air bases from which to attack the Russian air fields and refineries at Batum and Baku."

The USSR never pressured, bribed or threatened any of its neighbours to yield any of their sovereign rights or to change their social system. It was no more of a threat to Iran or Turkey, Sweden or India, England or the United States in 1950 than it was in 1918 or 1940.

Norway borders on the USSR. The United States is training squadrons of Norwegian pilots, arming its navy and building air bases near the Soviet frontier and bragging that these bases will facilitate the bombing of Leningrad and Murmansk. Again, one can easily imagine how Washington would react to the establishment of Soviet air bases, say, in Canada, near Maine or New Hampshire!

Most certainly, it would not even wait for Canada's permission to eliminate that threat. Now the Red Army, navy, and air force could easily do the same in relation to Norway. Indeed, the mere threat of their action might suffice. Yet the Soviet Union did no more than warn the Norwegian government to reconsider its step because its granting bases to the United States constituted an unfriendly, unneighbourly act.

Finland twice attacked the Soviet Union. Over three hundred thousand men, women, and children perished in Leningrad because of Finland's active intervention on the side of the Nazis. After the Finnish defeat, the Soviet Union could easily and justly have established a friendly government in Helsinki by ousting its reactionaries. But it refrained from interfering in Finland's internal affairs, hoping that experience would teach its people to follow the right course. Meanwhile, reactionary Social-Democrats, Tannerites, and even former criminals regained power. Some of them are stirring up enmity toward the USSR, and conspiring to drive Finland again into the anti-Soviet camp. The Soviets merely expressed dissatisfaction; *Pravda* published a number of editorials critical of the Helsinki regime.

The Soviets are not attempting to force their social system upon Finland. They are not distracted by Finland's capitalist press which sings the praises of private enterprise and assails communism—as long as it confines itself to

words. All this amply demonstrates that the Soviet Union can live in peace, maintain normal trade relations with any state or government, so long as it does not attempt to plant its guns on Soviet territory. The best illustration of this policy is provided by the recent normalisation of relations between Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R. at the latter's initiative.

Try as they may, the imperialists cannot bring into view a single instance of Soviet aggression. U.S. coastal waters are combed for Soviet submarines, but none are to be found. If only some Soviet planes would "lose their way" somewhere near the U.S. border, if only Soviet troops would move outside their legal zones. In fact this, Walter Lippmann admitted, is what Washington is craving. Soviet non-intervention in the affairs of other nations, he wrote, makes "our foreign relations increasingly unmanageable. The trouble is simply that no Communist army has crossed an international frontier. ... If Persia and Egypt ... were being attacked by the Russians; if Indo-China were being attacked by the Chinese," then "we would know what had to be done and we would be doing it. But to have boiling trouble without Russia or China committing open aggression"!

Dashing their heads against the stone wall of the Soviet non-aggression policy, the thwarted war incendiaries finally picture Soviet *non-intervention* in the affairs of other countries as a sinister threat. "One of the mysteries of Soviet foreign policy," wrote the *New York Times*, "has been the Kremlin's dealings with its North-west neighbour Finland. ... At the war's end, the feeling in the West was that from now on the Kremlin would keep a tight grip on Finland. ... Oddly enough, this has not been the case. Most Finns have become accustomed to the Soviet threat."

Another such example was furnished during the Iranian "oil crisis" in 1951. Washington and London threatened Teheran with dire consequences should it dare sell its oil to the neighbouring Soviet Union. Britain sent troops and warships to the Persian Gulf. On the streets of Teheran, Iranians were murdered for protesting Anglo-American

robbery of their oil riches. But according to Washington and London, all this constituted a form of "Soviet aggression" and a war threat. On June 22, 1951, Washington in fact accused Moscow of exploiting the Iranian oil crisis for its own benefit. Dulles declared "There is a risk of a general war because no one can be certain of what goes on in the dark recesses of the Kremlin."

Evidently, the Soviet Union, next door to Iran, must have done *something* to complicate matters for London and Washington. But what? Perhaps, following common American tactics, it had lend-leased tanks, machine guns and a few hundred thousand rifles to certain Iranians, offered them bribes, sent bomber squadrons over Teheran to display Soviet might, or simply hired some gangsters to murder a few unfriendly politicians? Of course, it had done nothing of the kind. In fact, the Soviet government did not even issue any statement which could have been construed as interference. It was a menace—*because it did nothing*.

Here is how the Alsops explained the "do nothing threat." "The Kremlin," they wrote, "has shown great astuteness. In view of the weakness and corruption of the Middle East governments, in view of their utter inability to resist Russian strength, the Russians could have used naked force in this region, they could have turned the world balance of power upside down by the mere denial to the Western alliance of Middle Eastern oil." This, they wrote, "would have helped us." But instead, "The Russians acted amiably!" "Russian amiability facilitated the growth of the Tudeh Party. The wretched poor and the idealist alike flocked into the Tudeh because of the dreadful conditions prevailing in the country," and because of this, "It is going to be incredibly difficult to save the Middle East bacon for the Western world." Thus, the Soviets were "aggressors" because Iran's starved masses had discovered that Shell and Standard Oil rob them of their bacon and their bread; because the Soviet gained the sympathy of the masses by *not supporting* their exploiters, by refusing to be partners to imperialist crimes.

On May 9, 1951 in the great Senate debate, General Marshall was asked by a Senator, "If you were assured that the Soviet forces would *not* be thrown into that war [against China] would you be disposed to favour the recommendation of General MacArthur that we bomb Manchuria?" Marshall replied, "If, from a hypothetical viewpoint, there was no danger whatever of a Soviet intervention, I would say that the bombing you mention would certainly start almost immediately." Thus, the Soviet air force was the "aggressor" because its mere existence, its *possible* aid to China, kept the United States from undertaking a "non-aggressive" bombing of China's cities and the killing of countless un-American Chinese women and children.

Soviet peace proposals are also a form of "Communist aggression." "Operation Split," "a clumsy manoeuvre to exploit the free world's wistful longing for peace," is the way the *New York Times* characterized the Soviet September 28, 1953, proposal to the U.S. for the calling of a Five Power Conference "to take up all world problems and lessen world tensions." "Such a conference," this State Department organ wrote "would inevitably involve recognition of Communist China" which "is unacceptable." In other words, since we are still committed to war against China, and since the Soviets deny the necessity for such a war, hence its demand for a peace conference involving the recognition of China demonstrates that its intentions for peace with the U.S. are not serious.

"Export" of Revolution

To keep themselves informed, even the arch-enemies of the USSR occasionally have to acknowledge facts. Dulles said in 1952, "I don't know of any authoritative person who believes that the USSR is preparing for open military aggression. There is no danger of the Red Army being marched out of Russia against Western Europe or Asia in a war of aggression." *U.S. News and World Report* stated: "Inside Russia, all warmongering is absent. Preparations

on the scale needed for modern war cannot be made without detection. Russia is not engaged in these activities. Emphasis instead is being placed on the promise of improved standards of living and not upon further sacrifices to prepare for war." Similar admissions were made by many Western leaders, including Admiral Kirk, former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow. But no sooner did Kirk return to Washington than he demanded more billions for armaments because of the "threat" of "Soviet aggression."

The Soviet Union, they admit, does not want war, but seeks to attain "world domination" through indirect aggression, by "*internal subversion*." And they never run short of "illustrations." Actions by labour to raise its living standards are the capitalists' most common examples of "indirect Soviet aggression." When 28,000 British dockers and miners struck for a living wage in February 1951, the Associated Press pictured this as "the first Communist offensive against Britain's armament programme." "Soviet subversion," wrote the *New York Times*, has infiltrated the the Martinique and Guadeloupe Islands, for "the French police there had to use tear gas, clubs and firearms to break a sixty-seven day strike." As a result, "the Negro Martiniquais elected two Communists to the National Assembly in Paris, where the island holds three seats in all."

It seems that wherever people fight for peace, democracy, freedom, and social justice, they automatically become "Soviet agents." Wherever the youth awaken to a new consciousness, they become ambassadors of Moscow.

Hence, argue the advocates of a third World War, "peace and co-existence with the Soviet Union are impossible, because the Soviet Union, as the vanguard of the world Communist movement, is carrying on a world-wide campaign of subversion." Its leaders declare world capitalism as doomed. Although the USSR avows that it does not foment revolutions, say its enemies, it has "established Communist rule" over an additional 600 million people since the end of the war. "We have no choice," they declare, "but to arm ourselves to destroy that menace."

Even a cursory analysis will show that these charges distort and falsify the actual course of events. It is certainly true that millions in capitalist-ruled countries are rising against the vested interests to oppose the system of private ownership of mines and factories, and government by the trusts. Indeed, the truth that we are living in an era of great social transformation has become a by-word. But neither the Soviet Union nor "communism" is the cause of all this. The struggle of the new against the old has been going on and will continue to go on in every social system.

The character of the struggle taking place in the capitalist-ruled countries cannot be explained as due to external causes. For it is the laws operating *within* the capitalist system itself which determine the nature of this struggle.

Were this not true we would have to accept the absurd notion that the Soviet Union or "world communism" invented the class struggle, capitalist wars and crises, and revolutions; or that the slave and feudal systems, which lasted for centuries, went under because of some conspiracy. But everyone knows that the history of mankind, from antiquity to this day, records many slave, serf, peasant and worker uprisings and many popular revolutions for freedom and national independence. In the United States, some of the bitterest strikes occurred in the eighties and nineties of the last century, decades before the Soviet Union came into existence. But even then, the records show, American reaction labelled striking workers and their leaders as "aliens," "subversives," and "dangerous Communists."

Today, is it the "fault" of the Soviet Union or of "world communism" that Guatemalan workers feel they can run their banana plantations without paying millions in tribute to Boston bankers who control the United Fruit Company? *Bakhtar Emruz*, the principal organ of former Premier Mossadegh's National Front in Iran, wrote: "In a country with a 2,000 kilometre frontier with a great Communist state, to maintain the status of the peasants as it is, poverty and destitution, is a kind of public suicide." Are the Soviets thus a menace to the "free world" because the people of

Iraq or Iran, living in squalor and poverty, see prosperous farms, towns, and industries run by people like themselves right across the Soviet border?

Is it the "fault" of the Soviets that after more than a hundred years of imperialist pillage, all China resounds with anti-imperialist slogans? "The situation in Africa is frightening and dangerous," reported the *New York World-Telegram and Sun* on December 6, 1952. "Another great continent may fall into Russian hands by default and without her firing a shot" Indeed, Egypt, the Sudan, French Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, South Africa are all armed camps. No white soldier or civilian dare to travel alone today in Africa. But it is the shots fired by the imperialists themselves that are driving the African peoples toward the camp of socialism.

In its note of February 17, 1951 to the London government, the Soviet Union pointed out that "to accuse the Soviet government of the existence in different countries of liberation movements caused by the oppression of imperialism is just as absurd as it would be to accuse it of the occurrence in the world of earth-quakes."

Even U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas inferentially admitted this when he declared, "The world is different than we in the United States have thought. The plain fact is that the world is in a revolution that cannot be bought with dollars. There are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. We think that force is communism, but it is not. If we continue our present foreign policy . . . we are doomed to disaster."

"Moscow employs force and violence to bring about world communism." This is another standard argument of those who preach the inevitability of war. But plain common sense, as well as the bald facts of the historical record, show the utter falsehood of this assertion. Did the Soviet Union have to bribe, threaten, or coerce the Chinese people to overthrow the Chiang Kai-shek regime? On the contrary, it was the U.S. which employed these means to halt the Chinese people from taking the road to progress. It

failed: and chiefly because the guns it furnished the dying regime were dwarfed by the awakened consciousness of the Chinese people.

It is a basic Marxist principle that revolutions can be neither manufactured nor exported. If the conditions for a freedom struggle do not exist, it cannot be imposed from the outside. Although the essence of the class struggle is the same everywhere, the masses can act only according to the level of their political consciousness, on the basis of their own specific experiences, which in turn are shaped differently in different countries. In 1864, Marx, in his address to the International Workingmen's Association, declared, "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." This was supplemented by Engels' remark in his letter to Kautsky of September 12, 1882: "This victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing."

The possibility for the peaceful coexistence of the capitalist and socialist systems was affirmed by the Soviet Union immediately after the October Revolution. Lenin established the principle that the function of the Red Army was the defence of the borders of the Soviet Union and not world revolution. "Export of revolution is nonsense," said Stalin. "Every country will make its own revolution if it wants to and if it does not want to, there will be no revolution." "We have no intention of forcing our ideology or our economic system on anybody," recently declared Malenkov. Such is the fundamental policy of the USSR.

India, Afghanistan, Japan, Turkey, Finland, Iran, the various Middle Eastern nations, although close neighbours of the USSR for the last 36 years, have been and still are either capitalist or semi-feudal countries. Although some of them are ruled by weak and corrupt governments, although the behaviour of some of them has been anything but friendly, the Soviet Union has never attempted to overthrow any of their governments by force or violence. On the contrary, it has always sought to establish friendly eco-

conomic and political relations and to underscore in word and deed its determination not to interfere in their internal affairs.

"No peaceful state," declared Stalin, "can refuse a peace agreement with a neighbouring power even if the latter is headed by monsters and cannibals." Hence, the Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact and attempted to preserve peaceful relations even with fascist Germany, with a regime based on rabid hatred and war against communism. The Soviet armies crossed frontiers to smash Hitlerism, but only after the cannibals invaded Soviet territory.

"All this may be true," some will reply, "but did not the Red Army impose Communist regimes on Poland, Hungary, and the other People's Democracies?" Again the record of what actually took place proves otherwise. Rumania, for example, was liberated by the Red Army from Nazi occupation in 1944, but it still had its king and its capitalists three years later, after the Red Army had left. Czechoslovakia was liberated in 1945, but it did not take the road to socialism until 1948, again long after the Red Army had left. The truth is that in each of these countries, the Communist-led governments arose after a long period of internal struggle, after the parties representing the vested interests had shown themselves incapable of coping with the heritage left by the war, or of raising living standards and establishing a stable economy and government.*

* In June, 1946, John MacCormack, *New York Times* correspondent in Czechoslovakia, reported: "Elections in Czechoslovakia have produced a government under Communist control achieved by working the machinery of a democratic government. . . . It may certainly be interpreted as a tribute to the discretion with which the Kremlin has treated Czechoslovakia ever since the Red Army withdrew last winter. Nothing was more indicative of this hands off policy than the speed with which Moscow cancelled a proposed Russian troop movement from Austria to Germany, when reminded that during part of this movement the Czechoslovaks would be going to the polls."

Why the old regimes in these countries fell to pieces and gave way to people's governments can be understood from developments in other parts of Europe. The Soviet army was never in Greece. But would King Paul and the clique around him have had a ghost of a chance of staying in power if the British, and then the Americans, had not conducted a five-year civil war slaughtering Greek peasants, workers, and intellectuals? The Red Army was never in Western Germany, but would Hitler's men have returned to power there if the Clays and McCloy's had not suppressed the German anti-fascists? Without the support of Hitler and Mussolini—and now the guns of Washington—would Franco still rule over the people of Spain? The Soviet army was never in France and Italy, but does not every Washington official admit that unless the United States *continues* to bolster the bankrupt capitalist regimes of both countries *with money and weapons, they would be supplanted by people's governments?*

The second World War and particularly its outcome turned the already frayed and seedy Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian, Czechoslovakian and Bulgarian ruling classes into a thoroughly discredited lot. Their counts, dukes, princes, big landlords and capitalists collaborated with the Nazis and led their peoples into disaster. The Soviet armies liberated the peoples of these countries from the Nazi oppressor. But unlike the Anglo-American forces, they did not furnish money or weapons to fascists and war criminals. They did not assume the task of bolstering or intervening in behalf of the old ruling class. The Soviet occupation forces, on the contrary, provided every opportunity for the masses to express their will. Essentially, it was this *non-intervention* by the Soviet armed forces in behalf of the bankrupt ruling classes, that permitted the anti-fascist, progressive and working class organizations to take over state power; and this only after a long and bitter struggle with the bankrupt feudal and capitalist classes of these countries.

Coexistence and Necessity

Soviet leaders recognize the historical truth that capitalism the world over will eventually give way to socialism. They see the rise of a socialist America, for example, led by workers and farmers, ruled by and for the people instead of by and for the moneybags, as historically inevitable. However, as Marxists, they realize that this can only come into being through the will and action of the American people themselves, and then only if American capitalism has outlived its capacity to function, i.e., to fill the people's vital social, economic, and other needs. In the meantime, and from the fact that in various parts of the world, socialism is already superseding capitalism, it does not follow that the USSR is the enemy of the United States. (From the fact science is the enemy of obscurantism and superstition, it does not follow that the members of an astronomical society must preach the physical extermination of the members of a society for the promotion of astrology.)

To the imperialists, however, peace and coexistence present an altogether different problem. Walter Lippmann, for example, reduced it to a military-geographic problem of "containing" world communism. Peaceful coexistence and the alternative to total war, he wrote, rest on "the question of where the Red Army is to be and where it is to be able to go and where it is not to be able to go. That is the question that will have to be answered, either by negotiations or by war." Lippmann argues: "Every war has a geographic objective . . . and has to be settled in terms of territory. . . . The diplomatic and military conflict with the Soviet Union is about particular countries." He therefore proposes a U.S.-USSR settlement, and "by a settlement I mean a fixing of boundaries between their world and ours . . . the frontiers to be defended by armaments. . . . Each recognizes the limits of his military power. . . . And the negotiations for such a settlement will be undertaken only on the assumption in both camps, that, if agreement fails, there will be war."

Now the USSR could easily provide Washington with a

precise map of *its* territorial boundaries, together with iron-clad guarantees that neither its troops nor weapons will cross them—but could Washington? Lippmann's very term "their world and ours," implies that the U.S. abhors precise definition of a country's legal frontiers. On September 3, 1953, Dulles declared: "I do not believe in drawing a precise line which suggests that we go to a certain point and not beyond. To do that," he said, "would be to offer to the Communists everything on the *other side* of the line," *i.e.*, China to the Chinese, etc. And should the people of Brazil follow the example and change their social system, it would be tantamount to a "Soviet annexation" of this country. The Soviets would have "broken their agreement," and "there will be war."

The frightening aspect of all this is that even some of the less reckless spokesmen for American imperialism show themselves incapable of reasoning about the process of historical change and the vast social-economic forces shaping it. They cling to their stereotyped fiction that the real problem confronting American and West European capitalism is the Soviet army. If the Soviet army were not in the centre of Europe, Lippmann wrote, "there would be no Communist problem in the Western world, at least that nations with good governments and a loyal police force could not cope with." (Evidently, this "loyal police force" must have been hiding somewhere during the Russian, French, and American revolutions.)

Lippmann's coexistence formula, like Wall Street's definition of the "Red Army," is designed to justify war against the Soviet Union. If Italy's left-wing bloc should gain another million votes and displace the Christian Democratic government, Lippmann and those for whom he speaks would conclude that the "Red Army had marched into Italy." If the Viet Nam people's forces should defeat the French invaders, they would charge that "Moscow had occupied Indo-China." By this neat formula, peaceful coexistence would depend, not on where the military forces of the USSR actually went, but on where the U.S. Army

and Navy could go to crush people's movements, under the pretext of wiping out "Soviet armies."

The truth is that U.S. troops and arms are moving to establish bases, to occupy foreign territories, not because the Soviet army is moving but because U.S. finance capital is on the move for the resources and labour power of the entire planet. Thus, the conflict is not between the United States and the USSR, but between the U.S. ruling class and its so-called allies, on the one hand, and the peoples of the world on the other.

Essentially, what the big capitalists understand by co-existence is a guarantee by the Soviet Union to bolster the capitalist system where it still exists and to re-establish it where it does not. They want the Soviet Union to guarantee for them the stability of their disintegrating system. If it keeps on crumbling, they contend, they have no choice but to bring about a third World War. Lippmann indirectly admits this by stating along with his coexistence theory, "We [the U.S.A.] are being sucked into a war of this kind, sucked into conflicts here or there in which it becomes increasingly difficult to do anything except to enlarge the conflict." Hence, it is not any action by the Soviet Union which is leading to the "enlargement of the conflict"; it is Washington's little "conflicts here and there," in the attempt to hold the peoples of 60 different countries under the Wall Street leash.

The fact is that the capitalists are afraid that their system may not meet the test of peaceful competition. They know that peaceful coexistence will not freeze the status quo or arrest the course of social change. The peoples of South and Central America, Africa and Southeast Asia, they know, will not capitulate to imperialist enslavement because Moscow and Washington have signed a peace agreement. Peaceful coexistence will not halt Moroccans or Tunisians from rising against their Paris rulers, or the people of France itself from changing their form of government or social system. "What the European workers do know," reported Harold Callender in the *New York Times*,

"is that their capitalism keeps them poor, and ... it is, therefore, not hard for Communists [in France] to argue that capitalism is inimical to the welfare of the workers." Coexistence would not silence that argument.

What the American monopolists are afraid of, therefore, is that peaceful coexistence would spell the end of West European capitalism and eventually their own bankruptcy as well. They fear that a lessening of world tensions and of the arms drive would precipitate a severe economic crisis. Time, they realize, is working against them. The socialist economies are overtaking and surpassing the capitalist countries. The world-wide anti-imperialist struggle and the decay of world capitalism, they believe, would be halted by the destruction of the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies and the establishment of U.S. world domination.

Thus, whenever U.S. leaders speak of peace and coexistence, they always add—with a certain kind of Russia. "There is only one possible object of U.S. foreign policy," wrote another State Department theoretician, James Burnham, "the destruction of Communist power. Overthrow of the Soviet regime is the supreme object of U.S. policy"! And "We are lost if our opponent so much as holds his own."

Of a similar order are the premises of the so-called "containment theory" advanced by George F. Kennan, former ambassador to Russia and State Department theoretician. In advancing his "liberation" programme, Eisenhower argued that "a soldier's pack is a lighter burden than the chains of a slave." While Ernest Gross, U.S. representative in the U.N., declared: "The USSR argues that peace is the mere absence of shooting. But we do not agree. The silence of the grave is worse than shooting." In essence, this means: "Unless you abolish your system, we cannot live in peace with you." It is a declaration of war.

To all this, the reply of the socialist world could be formulated more or less as follows: The immutable historical fact is that capitalist and socialist (and even semi-feudal) social systems exist on this planet and irrespective of the

desires of any rulers, whether they are armed with rifles or atom bombs. The fact that they exist proves the possibility of their coexistence. Its denial leads to the alternative view that each must seek to exterminate the other. But this again proves the necessity for their coexistence if humanity is to survive.

Not only can different social systems coexist, but they can also cooperate with one another, develop trade and other relations of mutual benefit. Lenin was asked by a correspondent of the New York *Evening Journal* in February 1920, what the Soviet basis would be for peace with America. He replied: "Let the American capitalists leave us alone. We shall not touch them. We are even prepared to pay in gold for machines, tools, etc., useful for transport and industry. And not only gold but in raw materials as well." "Peaceful coexistence," declared Stalin at a later date, "the cooperation of capitalism and communism, are quite possible, but what is needed is a mutual desire to cooperate, a readiness to fulfill exactly obligations taken and to observe the principles of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states."

On August 8, 1953, Malenkov declared: "We firmly maintain that at the present moment there is no disputable or outstanding issue that could not be settled in a peaceful way. We stood and we stand for a peaceful coexistence of two systems. We consider that there are no objective grounds for a collision between the U.S. and the USSR."

The USSR has proved that it can coexist and maintain peaceful relations with any kind of government. It does not demand the overthrow of American capitalism as the condition for peace. On the contrary, it is willing to provide the American capitalists, as those of other countries, with billions of dollars' worth of trade to ease their market and employment problems. During the months of November and December 1953, for example, the Soviets shipped \$100 million of gold bars to the Bank of England for the purpose of widening trade relations with the sterling bloc countries.

Soviet spokesmen have often asked the enemies of

socialism: If you believe in the superiority of the capitalist system, then why don't you accept our challenge to peaceful competition? No system, as Ilya Ehrenburg has pointed out, can be doomed simply by pronouncing sentence upon it. All the curses heaped upon the Soviet Union by its enemies from the day of its birth could not thwart its development. Why then do you fear our analysis and criticism of your system? If you wish, make it ever harder for us to berate capitalism. Reduce prices, abolish unemployment and mass poverty. Stop wars. Compete with us a decade or two. Let us see who can contribute more to human life and welfare.

The peoples in all the capitalist and colonial countries are thus compelled to take issue with and choose between "the two conflicting premises of present-day international diplomacy: (1) that of the world peace camp headed by the USSR, that the peaceful coexistence of the two systems is possible, and that the vital needs of all mankind dictate their coexistence, and (2) that of U.S. monopoly capitalism, that its vital interests require the forcible destruction of the socialist world sector.

World Capitalism: Final Alternatives

As for threats of war and destruction, "the Soviet Union is not frightened," declared Malenkov. "Our people have experience in fighting aggressors and are not novices in giving them a drubbing." World capitalism warred against the workers' state from the moment it came into existence. From 1917 to 1922 Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson, together with the rulers of Japan and Germany, firmly believed that they could crush the USSR by armed intervention. Failing, they and their successors put their stakes on boycotts, sabotage, and intrigue; "when these, too, failed, they gambled on Hitler, finally promising him half of Europe to do the dirty job. It was to have ended with

success for the Anglo-American sponsors of that scheme," commented the Soviet historian Eugene Tarle, "but it actually ended with the collapse of their calculations, first in 1939 and then even more devastatingly in 1945."

Today the USSR is vastly more powerful and forms, together with China and the People's Democracies, a bloc of 800 million people. A third World War, warn the Soviet leaders, would bring about the collapse of the world capitalist system. It would be the last feast of the doomed. Although sure of the outcome, the USSR opposes war as a means of transforming the world. As Marxists, its leaders know that the socialist idea of "Peoples of the world, unite to further your own welfare" will win over "Peoples of the world, unite to massacre one another," which, in effect, is the slogan of imperialism.

In the final analysis, the choice facing the imperialists is whether to accommodate themselves to changed circumstances, to admit that historical change cannot be halted, or to commit suicide by a war against the Soviet Union. Viewing, for example, the over-all situation of the "200 ruling families" of France, Italy, or England, the alternatives they confront are: peaceful coexistence, shelving their armament drive, or attempting to lead their peoples into a war against the Soviet Union and being wiped out in the hurricane that will come in its wake.

Similarly, the choice for the U.S. monopolists is between retreating from positions which are no longer tenable, recognizing the hard facts of reality that dynamite and nuclear fission will not stop history from moving—or committing suicide in a third World War.

But, remonstrate the big capitalists, what have we got to lose? Is not the Soviet-led struggle for peace an assault upon our very existence? Will not peace drive us into bankruptcy?

The Soviet answer to this is that "capitalism has more to lose than to gain by war." In discussing this question,

Malenkov recently declared, "While American and British bellicose circles keep reiterating that only the armaments drive keeps industry in the capitalist countries going at full capacity, there is in actual fact another prospect—the prospect of developing and extending trade relations between all countries irrespective of difference in their social systems which could keep the factories and mills in the industrially-developed countries working to capacity for years, that could ensure markets in other countries for the goods in which some countries are rich, promote the economic advance in the undeveloped countries and thereby develop lasting economic cooperation."

The USSR, in the interest of world peace, is striving to convince the capitalists of the necessity for restoring the unity of the world market. It tells capitalism in effect: You can still keep going by reviving the single world market. We are prepared to open wide trade channels. This would ease capitalist export problems. Ten to twenty billion dollars in annual trade between the U.S.A. and the socialist countries could provide a firm basis for coexistence. Moreover the socialist world sector does not have to sell more than it buys. It can even buy more than it sells. Indeed, China's industrialization programme alone, not to mention the other Asian countries, could keep many American factories going for a long time to come.

The American capitalists could look forward, therefore, to years of profitable trade and business. Of course the big trusts will confront the "hideous problem" of how to survive the "shock" of a peace economy. Peaceful coexistence would require their shift from a carnivorous type of diet (war and armament profits) to a more herbaceous one.

They would have to invest their surplus capital, for example, in large-scale projects within the U.S.A., in roads, reforestation, flood control, eradication of slums, in building schools and health centres, in large-scale public works projects of all kinds. The purchasing power of American workers and farmers would have to keep on rising in line

with the growth of production. General Motors, du Pont, Standard Oil, U.S. Steel, and the others would have to be content with much less than thousands of dollars annual profits on each worker employed.

War and armaments can only shorten the life-span of American capitalism. Peace and coexistence can provide it with a longer period of survival.

A rational evaluation of the interests of the capitalist class as a whole, therefore, ought to dictate its acceptance of peaceful coexistence of both systems. Why, then, do the American monopolists, while admitting that the USSR will not attack them, insist on continuing the armament race and to cling to the concept of an eventual third World War?

They do so because peace and coexistence would bring *immediate* loss of armament and atom-bomb orders. And armaments are the central means of achieving maximum profits—the basic economic law driving present-day monopoly capitalism. Hence, they cannot and will not yield this voluntarily. They are aware that trade with the socialist countries and the industrialization of backward areas would not provide them with this kind of profits. They know that peace and coexistence and the restoration of the single world market can be based only upon the operation of factories and mills for peaceful purposes to promote the welfare of the people, the welfare of the entire world—the opposite of their ruthless exploitation of colonial areas. Above all, they fear that peace and coexistence would lead to the eventual triumph of socialism on a world scale.

Thus, while one may argue that the jungle animal caught in a trap would be better served by being taken to the zoo, the beast nevertheless resists even if this means its destruction. The Wall Street men are naturally terrorized at the prospect of being museum pieces in a socialist world. This is what they mean by “the chains of slavery” and “the silence of the grave.” Let us gamble, they say even while conceding that they may not win.

The American kings of finance and industry, like those of Western Germany, Japan or Britain, will not change their habits: not without first being collared by an awakened American people. Disarmament, the outlawing and cessation of atom bomb production, the basis for peace and coexistence cannot be won, therefore, without a prolonged and bitter struggle. It must be imposed upon them by the peoples of the world, and above all by the workers, farmers, and small business people in the U.S.A. itself.

Chapter IX

Imperialist Alliances : Witches Cauldron

IN THE LAST two chapters we examined the two principal world forces blocking a third World War—the growing people's resistance and the peace policy of the socialist world sector headed by the Soviet Union. The vital interests of both, we have shown, stand in utter opposition to any war of aggression. We shall now examine the third major contradiction which tends to frustrate the imperialists' plans for a joint anti-Soviet crusade, namely, the conflicts between the imperialists themselves.

Inter-imperialist conflicts and collisions arise out of the uneven development of capitalism, out of economic and other disparities among the various ruling classes. Capitalists who control more capital, cheaper raw materials, and better machines, usually under-sell and ruin the others. Capitalist countries which consider themselves deprived of raw materials and markets attempt to change the situation by pressing for a redistribution of spheres of influence. Hence, there never was enough *lebensraum* for both the German *and* the British trusts, or for the Japanese *and* the American trusts. They split into hostile camps, and matters are settled on the battlefield.

With the birth of the Soviet Union, which added a fourth and external contradiction to the capitalist system, a new tendency appeared—the tendency of imperialist countries to unite for the purpose of finding a way out of their contradictions by organizing joint war against the Soviet Union. In 1918 Lenin declared: "Two tendencies exist; one which renders alliance of all imperialists unavoi-

dable; a second which divides one group of imperialists against the other—two tendencies, neither of which rests on a firm basis.”

As to the predominance of one tendency or the other, it is determined first of all by the given magnitude of the pressures and contradictions within the imperialist camp itself, and second by the relation of forces between the imperialist and the socialist world sectors. In June 1930, Stalin wrote: “Every time the capitalist contradictions begin to grow acute, the bourgeoisie turns its gaze towards the USSR, as if to say, ‘cannot we settle this or that contradiction of capitalism, or all the contradictions taken together at the expense of the USSR?’ . . . But intervention,” he added, “is a two-edged weapon. . . . Suppose it finishes with the defeat of the capitalists? . . . The bourgeoisie knows this perfectly well. . . . Hence the tendency toward peaceful relations with the USSR.”

How do these tendencies express themselves today? Are the contradictions between the capitalist and the socialist camps more acute than the contradictions among the imperialists themselves? “Theoretically, they are,” wrote Stalin, and this “is not only true now, today; it was true before the second World War and, it was more or less realized by the leaders of the capitalist countries. Yet the second World War began not as a war with the USSR, but as a war between capitalist countries.” It did so because “war with the USSR, as a socialist land, is more dangerous to capitalism than war between capitalist countries.” The latter “puts in question only the supremacy of certain capitalist countries over others,” whereas “war with the USSR must certainly put in question the existence of capitalism itself.” Also because the capitalists “are aware of the Soviet Union’s peaceful policy and know that it will not itself attack capitalist countries.”

After the first World War, wrote Stalin, the United States and Britain “assisted Germany’s economic recovery; they did so with a view of setting a recovered Germany against the Soviet Union, to utilize her against the land of

socialism." But instead, Germany took the path of independent development and "directed her forces in the first place against the Anglo-American bloc." "Consequently, the struggle of the capitalists for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved *in practice* to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp."

All this is still true today. Because of the deepening of the general crisis, there are fewer profitable investment areas than before. The struggle among the imperialists on the issue of *whose* capital is to be displaced is therefore even more intense. To smooth its path to world domination, the United States is directing them instead toward a war against the Soviet Union. But, the British, French, German and Japanese ruling classes realize today more than ever the suicidal nature of a war against the USSR—suicide for them individually, as for world capitalism as a whole. They also know Wall Street would be no more generous to them even after it seized any new markets or territories through such a war.

From this it follows that Washington's partners will not rush to put their heads on the block, to sacrifice themselves for U.S. World War III aims. Their own interests must come first, and these are not served by Wall Street's attempts to convert them into satellites.

Who Is to Go Under?

Immediately after World War II, capitalist market problems were eased somewhat since Germany and Japan had been eliminated as competitors. But, meanwhile, U.S. industries had greatly expanded, and then the West European countries and Japan slowly regained their prewar level of production. The commercial rivalries among them reappeared, more bitter and sharper than ever. "A prewar bogey is raising its head," wrote the London *Daily Herald*,

"Japanese competition. Cotton goods from Japan are pouring into the world's markets. Japan is already exporting more textiles than we are." The London *Economist* observed, "Manchester looks upon Japanese competition as a Frankenstein monster." (Wages in Japan are one-third to one-half of the British average.)

In 1952, while unemployment in the British textile industry rose to 180,000, Washington advanced a \$40 million credit to the Japanese to push their export of cotton textiles. Japanese exports to India and Malaya in that year were three times those of 1950, while British exports to these areas rose only 20 per cent. On March 23, 1952, *Reynolds' News* carried a report of a secret deal between American and Japanese textile manufacturers to capture the overseas markets now held by Britain. The London Board of Trade insisted that Washington stop interfering with trade through Hong Kong and permit Japan to resume trade with China. (Forty-five per cent of Japan's prewar exports went to China.) Hence, although loathing People's China no less than Wall Street, Whitehall recognized the new Peking government and opposed the U.S.-sponsored boycott of China.

As West German production approached its prewar level, it evoked cries of fear and resentment among other West European, and even American manufacturers. In 1948, France was ahead of West Germany in steel production; in 1952, the latter outstripped French production by about 400,000 tons each month. "Ruhr coal, chemical, tool, and metal products," complained *Le Monde*, organ of French big business, "are underselling those of France. The Ruhr Konzerns are out to regain their prewar dominance." Renault and Citroen could not compete with Opel (General Motors) and Volkswagen.

West Germany is already ousting France from her European markets and even penetrating her markets in North Africa. It is also making big inroads into Britain's markets. In Latin America, West German exports advanced from \$32 million in 1949 to \$370 million in 1951. In 1951 its

exports to Argentina rose by 232 per cent, but those of Britain dropped 27 per cent. The disastrous decline in British metal and chemical exports in 1951 was matched by a corresponding overall rise in West European exports.* On May 24, 1952, the *Wall Street Journal* disclosed that German and Japanese competition had cut British exports to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India by 50 per cent. I. G. Farben, AEG, Flick, Krupp and Heinkel concerns are branching out in Canada, South Africa, Egypt, Turkey and Australia.

Bonn and Paris alike preached the gospel of multi-lateral free trade, but each imposed new import restrictions. On May 1, 1953, when the Schuman Plan went into force, Jean Monnet, one of its sponsors, declared, "There is no longer any French, German, or Belgian steel from now on. It all will be European." But immediately the dispute on Saar steel broke out between them. "The strongest words are too weak to brand the French policy of murder and terror in the Saar," wrote the Bonn press. Paris insisted that Saar steel must be counted as French so that French production would equal that of Western Germany.** Bonn at once raised its tariff on French steel and coal. And on May 6, 1953, Bonn instituted a turnover tax on coal and steel "to prevent French exports of steel to Germany at prices less than German producers could offer." All this struck at the foundations of the Schuman Plan, which expressly forbids such discrimination.

The Adenauer government resumed Schacht's practice of granting subsidies, which enabled German capitalists to

* In 1949 the export of West German metal items to the rest of Europe was 73 per cent of Britain's; in 1952 it rose to 182 per cent. For chemicals the corresponding figures were 67 per cent for 1949 and 210 per cent for 1951. (*London Economist*, August 15, 1952.)

** The Saar should pass to Western Germany, its share of the European community's productive capacity would rise to 42 per cent, while that of France would drop to 27 per cent. At present the corresponding shares are 34 per cent for France and 35 per cent for Germany.

capture markets through underselling and dumping. Moreover, its sales were financed with U.S. dollars. "Against whom is the cold war being conducted," asked Aneurin Bevan, "Britain or the Soviet Union?" As Britain's trade position lightened, its politicians prayed ever more fervently that "Western Germany not be cut off from her natural East European markets."

The biggest problem confronting all the European capitalist countries was U.S. competition. It strangled them all by its control of credits and raw materials, and by more efficient industrial facilities as well. Before the war, the United States exported 278 million square yards of textiles, Britain 1,654 million, and Japan 2,412 million. In 1947 the respective figures were 1,470, 631, and 394. As a result in 1950, Britain's export of cotton cloth was only 40 per cent of its 1937 exports, and only 12 per cent of the amount exported in 1913. In comparison, U.S. exports rose by 500 per cent during that period. In 1938, the United States exported 12 million tons of coal, Germany 30 million, and Britain 37 million. In 1947 the respective figures were 80, 11, and 6. Such were the inroads which U.S. monopolists made on their "allies."

The Europeans asked for "trade, not aid." But Congress surged with new plans for shutting off the American market from foreign competition by erecting still higher tariff walls. The U.S. tariff became one of the key factors playing havoc with the European economies. It even restricted the import of Turkish dried figs. In retaliation Turkey cut its imports of U.S. manufactured goods.

"Western Europe and affiliated areas overseas," reported Michael Hoffman on May 1, 1953, "will have to continue indefinitely to discriminate against dollar goods. . . . Instability of world trade will continue." "No one in Europe wants to undermine the American economy," declared Dr. Heinz L. Krakeler, Chargé d'Affaires of the Bonn men in Washington. "What we want is to survive together." But this "together" is the crux of the problem.

"A House With One Pillar"

The Wall Street drive to control the world's markets and raw materials differs from all previous imperialist aspirations to world domination. France, Britain, Germany and Japan each in turn strove for hegemony, but in actuality they manoeuvred only for a redivision of world markets and colonial areas. The bankers and industrialists of Hitler Germany shouted, "Tomorrow the world!" But for the time being they "merely" strove to dominate North Africa, the Middle East, and Europe up to the Urals. Temporarily at least, they were content to share world rule with one or two other powers—with the United States, Japan, or both. U.S. imperialism, however, has a preponderance of economic and military force over its rivals that Hitler never enjoyed. It is less willing, therefore, to share control and profits. Though already dominating the entire western hemisphere, the Pacific, and much of Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa, it is lunging for the entire planet. It is working on the assumption that there is no power that cannot be crushed into submission. Washington thus has no partners, only subordinates.

Now that the system has become too tight for their survival, the U.S. trusts seek to expand simultaneously in *all* directions. Whatever the borders of their domain, it is too narrow. Through spokesmen like Thomas E. Dewey they declare, "America's West Coast is not safe unless we control the Hawaiian Islands" two thousand miles away. Hawaii is not safe unless the 40 million square miles of the Pacific, with all its islands, including the Philippines and Indonesia, are American-dominated. But this, Dewey argued, calls for the control also of Korea and Formosa, Japan, China and Southeast Asia. Since 1945 various senators and State Department officials have declared on numerous occasions that the U.S. frontier must be regarded as located somewhere in Germany, Iran, Scandinavia and Turkey.

Any power falling victim to the fantastic dream that all mankind can be ruled by its steel and oil merchants must of

necessity involve itself in impossible adventures and irresolvable contradictions. The more so when it bounces toward this goal during a period when the system as a whole is disintegrating.

In the "good old days" world imperialism formed a sort of chain, with each link supporting the other. With the Russian Revolution, the tsarist, or weakest, link snapped, and the chain began to fall apart. At the close of World War II many more links were missing; and even the ones that still looked sound on the surface were ready to break. Today, the only solvent capitalist power is the United States. But instead of being attached to a chain of support, it is hitched to a group of either moribund, fractured or semi-bankrupt states which are depleting its strength.

In its drive for world domination, American imperialism, therefore, is nowhere stronger than the weakest link in the capitalist chain. It has to refer to the decayed regimes of Spain, Turkey, Greece, South Korea, and other such bottomless quicksands as "the cornerstones of our system." Its global sages search for formulas that will "co-ordinate" the politico-economic devil's brews and witches' cauldrons of 50 different capitalist and semi-feudal oligarchies each of which claims that it is dying, each of which hollers for help.

And the danger lurks everywhere—among the long-shoremen of Basra, Bombay, and Genoa as among the oil workers of Kirkuk, Abadan, and Caracas. In Southeast Asia, as in Africa and Latin America, the number of "subversive" peasant huts keeps on growing. U.S. agents, besides building containment walls around 800 million people, busily chart global maps in an attempt to locate every town and village suspected of harbouring un-Americans. And as the imperialists' problems multiply, they recruit more assassins, shouting "Operation Candour," "Operation Killer," "Operation Truth," while offering shiploads of guns and stacks of dollars.

But at the showdown, only the American, out of all the other imperialist gendarmes, can still brandish the club against the rising peoples. And he has a busy time of it. He

jumps frantically from one base and one continent to another, to plug the shattered dikes of the imperialist system. But they do not hold. For his alliances and bases rest on thawing, cracking ice fields that float on the surging rivers of the springtide of the people's liberation movements.

Each extension of its bases burdens American imperialism with bigger loads and sharper dilemmas. Engaged in the self-defeating task of containing with steel the moving tide of historical change, its heavy armour and its weak and drowning allies only drag it more rapidly downward. Realizing this basic weakness, the so-called "isolationists" among the American imperialists insist on "concentrating our energies on one area or on one phase of the conflict." But this, declared W. Averell Harriman, who represents the "globalists," is suicidal. "They fail to understand the nature of the struggle or the nature of the threat we face, which can be met by a global strategy only. This struggle cannot be won by any single method." Obviously and for the same reason, *the entire U.S. global strategy may well topple because of the failure of any single method.*

Thus, the very factors which led to the predominant position of U.S. capitalism (its immense profits from the first and second World Wars, the downfall of its rivals, etc.) also constitute its fatal weakness. This inequality, this top-heavy concentration of economic power at one pole, enables the U.S. imperialists to subjugate the others, but at the price of intensifying the general crisis and the viability of the entire system. "The U.S. is the dynamo, the generator of power," wrote Mr. Lippmann. "If the dynamo stops or slows up, the lights will go out all over the world. The dynamo can, of course, be overloaded; if it is, it will break down. That is why we must avoid taking on commitments that cannot be met." What he forgot is that the dynamo, while feeding its outlets, is also being fed by them; fed by the ruthless exploitation of numerous peoples which drive it to assume commitments leading to its eventual breakdown.

"The American reactionary," wisely declared Mao Tse-tung, "has a heavy burden. He must sustain all the reaction-

aries of the entire world, and if he cannot sustain them, his house will fall down. It is a house with one pillar."

He must sustain them—and also dominate them. For it is not out of blooming health that American capitalism is rampaging toward the goal of world domination. It is driven by the pressures of the intensified general crisis, by the widening gap between production and consumption, by its huge capital surpluses, by the intensified unevenness and instability of the capitalist system, by the growing strength of socialism and of the colonial liberation and working class movements. As U.S. imperialists find their spheres too small, they must go after the markets and territories of the British, French, and other trusts, with the ultimate aim of amalgamating and absorbing their various rivals, of welding them into a single world trust.

Lenin clearly foresaw the tendency of monopoly capitalism to follow this road; he also showed why it can never achieve this goal. "There is no doubt," he wrote, "that the development is going *in the direction* of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and all states without exception. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such circumstances, at such a pace and amidst such antagonisms, conflicts and convulsions—not only economic, but also political, national, etc.—that before a single world trust is reached, before an ultra imperialist world union of national finance capital is formed, imperialism will inevitably explode—capitalism will turn into its opposite."

The contradictions and antagonisms to which Lenin referred have since grown enormously. First, the forces resisting dependency and servitude are today more invincible than ever before. Second, Wall Street's attempt to weld the other imperialists to itself involves the process of first crushing them. Third, its attempt to save world capitalism also involves the process of simultaneously supporting them economically. Finally, since they can only be welded by a "common cause"—namely, a war against the Soviet Union—they also have to be strengthened militarily. All this is

bound wrench the imperialist camp and splinter it with many new conflicts and antagonisms.

Dulles' repeated ultimatums to the West European ruling circles that unless they unite and halt their internecine conflicts, "the United States will be compelled to reappraise its present policies," reflect Washington's fear that its alliances may crumble before they serve their purpose. To prevent this crack-up and secure its allies as reliable war conspirators, it must constrict their range and power for independent action. For only thus can it whip the divided and wrangling Paris, Bonn, Athens, London, and Rome rulers into a raucous war chorus. But this brings other contradictions in its wake. For one thing, there arises the dilemma of keeping the satellites politically and economically weak and docile, while driving them at full speed to acquire the muscles of war champions—an obviously impossible task.

But this is not all. Today, unlike former periods, the West European governments are proceeding with their war preparations without any accumulated reserves and while on the verge of insolvency. The European masses will not tolerate either further cuts in their low living standards or calls for further war sacrifices. Taking all this into account, we arrive at a paradoxical situation in which the Western powers, drained by ruinous war burdens, will be called upon at this point of their greatest weakness to exhibit their greatest strength—an unlikely event. Add to this, too, the active struggle of the peace forces, and it becomes even more probable that the West European card-house of anti-Soviet war alliances will collapse not after, but before it ever fires a shot.

Anglo-American Conflicts

For the time being, the British monopolists can still overcome the commercial threat of German and Japanese competition. But the blows from Wall Street are fraught with bigger dangers. U.S. trusts are squeezing the British not only from their vital export markets, but also from

their capital investments, taking into their fold Britain's colonies, dependencies, and associated Commonwealth areas.

The British empire still accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the capitalist output of natural rubber, and a good deal of its tin, nickel, manganese, chromium, asbestos, wool, copper, lead, and zinc. As the largest consumer of raw materials, the United States is trying to choke the British by fixing world prices and controlling them through stockpiling materials. The British monopolies, on the other hand, are trying to form new cartel agreements to maintain prices at levels profitable to them.

Another source of conflict is oil. American interests have gained control of 55 per cent of all the oil extracted in the capitalist world outside the United States, as compared with the 36 per cent they controlled on the eve of World War II. The share of British monopolies dropped from 51 per cent in 1937 to 35 per cent in 1951. In the Middle East, the U.S. monopolists increased their share from 13 per cent in 1937 to 59 per cent in 1952, reducing Britain's share from 76 per cent in 1939 to 33 per cent in 1952.

Why then, despite mounting Anglo-American antagonisms and increasing divergence of economic interests, has London continued to cling to Washington's coat tails? Of course, Britain emerged from the last war economically bankrupt and militarily a second-rate power. With two divisions in the Middle East and five on the continent, all it could afford to maintain, it could no longer play its old decisive role in balance-of-power diplomacy. But it could have continued to occupy a far more independent political and economic position, had it not merged so fully with Wall Street's cold war programme.

Britain could, for example, have recouped its financial and trade losses and regained its solvency by establishing normal trade relations with the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies. Thus far, however, London has refused to take advantage of the long-time trade agreements offered by these countries, which would give it a chance to free itself from the American dole.

Is it because London fears Moscow more than Washington? But the facts show that the British Empire is being wrecked not by the USSR but by the US. After the Second World War, "Truman completed what Hitler, with Britain's encouragement, had begun," wrote A. Leonidov, the Soviet political analyst. "Dollar trade put sterling as nothing more than a copper coin. Wall Street by hook or by crook, by coaxing or coercion, clipped the handcuffs on Britain's economy." Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, the Far East, Iran, Turkey, and the Arab countries all passed from Britain to the United States, which took as its motto, "All Asia for the Americans."

Why, then, did the British ruling class abet most of Washington's anti-Soviet war moves? Why did London reduce trade with the East to a minimum and co-sign the restoration of German militarism? In short, why did London tie itself to the tail of the Washington war kite? All this cannot be explained by Britain's relative weakness and dependence upon Wall Street, for British influence upon the even weaker West European powers is still momentous. Indeed, the City could have earned more rewarding fees as a cold war moderator (not to speak of peace broker) than as an assistant arsonist.

The reasons motivating the British ruling class are varied. After the war, both the Churchills and the Bevins nursed hopes that the U.S. atom bomb would push socialism from the Elbe to Oder back to the Bug, or even further. The U.S. gendarme, they also hoped, would help them to maintain a firmer hold upon their weakened empire—albeit on a fifty-fifty basis. Last, but not least, some sections of the British ruling class stake their hopes on the dream that another war, a war between the United States and the USSR, would pull them out of their position of inferiority and decline as a world power.

Given Britain's exposed geographic position, calculations of this kind would appear somewhat far-fetched, if not incredibly adventurous. However, it would be sheer fantasy to suggest that the men who for 36 years promoted

every type of intrigue to smash Soviet power have now abandoned this objective—and precisely when the most intoxicated anti-Soviet gang (whom, incidentally, they fear and despise) is wildly rushing to gamble on it. At any rate, London's past record shows that it is by no means above such calculations.

British diplomacy has always been guided by the principle of maintaining hegemony by pitting one against another. At one time or another, from 1812 on, it supported every European power in alliance and conspiracies directed against some other power. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, for example, it supported Bismarck Germany against France, then Russia against Germany, then France and Turkey against Russia, and then again Russia and France against Germany.

Before the First World War rising German imperialism drove for a redivision of territories and markets, and encroached upon the British interests in Africa, the Balkans, the Middle East, and South America. Britain abetted the war drive of the German and Austrian imperialists. But after giving them the go-ahead signal for war against France and Russia by secretly promising to remain neutral, it deceived them and joined the Entente coalition. (*Gott strafe England* then became a household motto throughout Germany.)

Similarly, during the entire decade before the start of the Second World War, Britain was busily forging the keys which opened the gates to the East for Hitler's Wehrmacht. Indeed, without London's "good offices," the war could not have been started. But once it started and Germany first attacked Poland (instead of the Soviet Union), most of the promises made by Chamberlain and Henderson to Hitler went overboard.

British postwar foreign and military policy (carried out by the semi-secret Imperial Defence Committee founded in 1904) seems to be marked by the same serpentine duplicity. As of old, London proclaims its undying hostility to the Soviet Union, its only honest allegation, supports vari-

ous intrigues aimed at aggression, but plans to have the others pull its chestnuts out of the fire. "The imperialist financial oligarchy in Britain," wrote R. Palme Dutt, "wholly cosmopolitan in their outlook, interests and connections, eagerly cling to the American alliance to maintain their possessions and continue to receive what they can of their superprofits. For this higher aim they have no compunction of sacrificing the national interest of Britain to American domination, any more than their Munichite predecessors ... to the expansion of Hitler, so long as Hitler maintained hostility to the Soviet Union."

Hoping to recapture some of its influence in the Far East, Britain recognized China's new government. But desiring also the overthrow of the New China, it collaborates with the U.S. in blocking its admission to the U.N., maintains relations with the Chiang clique on Formosa, funnels spies and saboteurs through Hong Kong. It also supported other U.S. war moves against Peking and appended its signature to the separate "peace" treaty with Japan. "The motives which prompted the British imperialists to this suicidal course," wrote A. Leonidov, "were obviously of the Munich order: They hoped to canalize U.S. aggression against the Soviet Union and China."

Depending on circumstances (that is, on who will have to make the sacrifices), London talked of a possible peace and a possible war with China. It supported the war against Korea so long as it meant limited involvement. It wants to play the role of Wall Street's chief aide-de-camp in the NATO set-up, to receive the lion's share of money and weapons, but it refuses to join the Schuman Plan or to integrate its troops with the European army. It grants the U.S. atom-bomb bases on its territory, but insists on last-minute veto rights on their use. -

At the U.N. Selwyn Lloyd and Sir Gladwyn Jebb reject Soviet peace and disarmament offers by parroting Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., the U.S. representative, that "it is futile to negotiate with the Soviets until we arm some more." In London, Churchill talks of the need for a big power confer-

ence to lower world tensions. Simultaneously, however, he issues a virtual ultimatum to Paris by declaring that the German army will be brought into the NATO forces regardless of French wishes.

In short, the British ruling class is determined on a policy to go along with and profit from the war drive so long as others foot the bill. Hence, each time the new master of the imperialist jungle actually attempts to drag London into firmer World War III commitments, it scurries for cover. Apparently, what the British rulers want is a special kind of war, in which, after it started they could maintain some sort of co-belligerency or neutrality.

Such tendencies were also revealed at several critical moments in the war against Korea and China. Whitehall consistently refused to support the repeated Soviet proposals that the U.N. end the war by voting for an immediate cease-fire and negotiations. It even rejected Chinese and Soviet proposals that Britain act as mediator to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict. London refused because it was by no means opposed to U.S. involvement in a Far Eastern war, that might lead to eventual war with the Soviet Union. The City's financial organs cheered the possible spread of the war, the rising profits, and the "highly improved position of our manufacturers and merchants as a result of increased U.S. war needs."

Everything seemed propitious until the Pentagon pipers came demanding payment. Enraged by the defeats in Korea in December 1950, Washington buzzed with plans to bomb China and take MacArthur's "calculated" World War III risk. The British were summoned to honour their bill, i.e., to permit American bombers to take off from British bases to bomb Soviet cities, should U.S. action in the Far East lead to war with the USSR.

Downing Street immediately changed its tune. In January 1951, the entire conservative press from the London *Times* to the *Yorkshire Post* suddenly began writing that, "It would be monstrous to reject negotiations and go to war against China." The influential *Economist* complained:

"American policy seems now to have taken the shape of peremptory instructions and then flying into a temper when they are not immediately obeyed. We are very warm friends of the U.S.," it avowed, "but British confidence in American ability to lead the free world has been sadly shaken." Churchill suddenly found it necessary to remind his colleagues that "by establishing the American bomber base in East Anglia we have placed ourselves in the front line of targets in the event of war." Unexpectedly, too, on January 12, 1951, the delegates to the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London announced they would welcome "any feasible arrangement for a frank exchange of views with Premier Stalin and Mao Tse-tung."

Obviously, the British mouse, trapped in the Wall Street lion's den, was attempting to wriggle out from the venture its City financiers had extolled only the day before.

The Bevan wing of the Labour Party demanded: "We must have absolute veto rights over U.S. bombers leaving British bases, since atomic reprisals upon our cities are sure to come." But even this "left-wing" group of Labourites did not call for an all-out peace policy. Rather, it wanted less rigid ties with Wall Street, a more moderate rearmament programme, and a more explicit escape clause against being dragged into a Third World War. Meanwhile, in both Britain and France, there was an upsurge of popular pressure against following the reckless U.S. war moves. Leaders of powerful trade unions in both countries warned against yielding to Wall Street demands, declaring that the working class would not support a war against China and the USSR. The British monopoly press, which had hitherto boycotted the people's widespread peace demands, suddenly found it useful to feature these protests.

Washington suspected London of playing the Chamberlain "peace" game over again—of fomenting and supporting a war against the Soviet Union, but preparing to recoil at the showdown. It insisted on firm British commitments.

The *New York Times* warned: "The Labour Party has a heritage of pacifism; there is a residue in the Party who

still believe in the solidarity of the socialist workers of the world and who allege the U.S. is led by imperialists. . . . The Party committed to all-out rearmament is sponsoring an out and out pacifist as a candidate for parliament." The *Wall Street Journal* berated the 19 Labour M.P.'s who called for reconsidering the decision to rearm Western Germany. It recalled the horrible fact that Sir Stafford Cripps "even once advocated a popular front against fascism." Congressmen and senators, already accustomed to regarding Britain as their unsinkable but expendable atom-bomb carrier, felt irked and frustrated, and bellowed about the "traitorous and ungrateful British."

Chagrined, Wall Street clamped down on the raw material allocations which it controlled, especially sulphur (90% of the capitalist world's supply). British iron, steel, rayon, dye stuffs, and chemical industries were threatened with shut-downs. Andrew Roth reported that when the British delegation at the U.N. suddenly caved in to U.S. demands and voted to brand China an aggressor, "a famous government economist cryptically remarked, 'I smell sulphur.'"

"The raw material shortage," boasted *Business Week*, "could easily finish off Labour before 1951 is out." And so it did. The *Chicago Daily News* wrote, "Britain's claim to a fair share of raw material has no basis in international law." The pound slumped on the international exchanges. Wall Street supports the British as a rope does a man who is being hanged, commented the Soviet press.

Frightened, the London *Economist*, as well as other Downing Street organs, changed its tune once more. It now wrote, "The first thing for Britain is that the Atlantic Alliance should hold fast. . . . To abandon it will bring disaster—swift and complete. . . . The only hope lies in partnership with America." The once arrogant empire-builders now limped after a few scraps of Wall Street sulphur, cotton, and steel. "Churchill behaved in Washington like a business man on the verge of bankruptcy rather than a statesman," wrote the *New Republic*.

Beggars cannot be choosers, Washington insisted. Attlee and then Churchill agreed that "given certain conditions," Britain would approve the bombing of China. But as for using the U.S. bomber bases in England against Soviet Union, "we must still insist on our right of veto," declared the Labour Party leaders; at least consultations, added Conservative Party members. The *U.S. News and World Report* on December 21, 1951, however, remarked: "Consultation would be a matter of a telephone call as United States planes with atom bombs took off for targets." Such were the dilemmas London sought to resolve in its complex and contradictory foreign policy.

War allies with the power to stop at a given point, Wall Street rightly calculated, are worse than worthless; they might prove dangerous. It attempted to cut still further into London's financial and raw material resources. To detach the British from some of their cash balances, Washington stepped up its Middle East intrigues. Harriman, Finletter, Dulles rushed in turn to Cairo, Baghdad, Teheran, and Athens to conclude various deals at London's expense.

An "American Friends of the Middle East" society suddenly sprang up. In a big publicity campaign it warned the American people that "the Middle East is facing a spiritual crisis," that "we must strengthen our bonds with this cradle of Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity to save them from the threat of communism." An epidemic of assassinations suddenly afflicted pro-British premiers and other London stooges in Syria, Transjordan, Lebanon, and Iran. Former Senator Tydings, heading a U.S. oil combine, urged the Iraqi government to cancel its oil concessions to the British.

Meanwhile, through a set of intricate intrigues, Washington, acting for the Rockefeller trust, helped to oust the British from their Iranian oil concessions. During the Iranian "oil crisis" one set of State Department officials requested Teheran to "please reach a settlement with London," while another notified it that "should the negotiations fail, we are ready to operate the refineries on better terms

than any offered by the British." This, boasted Morgan's *Newsweek*, "took away the weapons of the British threats." In Teheran "law and order" are now maintained by U.S. instead of British tanks. Anglo-Iranian shares tumbled, while those of Standard Oil and Socony Vacuum soared to new heights.

At the same time, American air bases in Britain were ordered to enlarge their areas and personnel. While Churchill grumbled, "I do not think our country ought to have fallen so far in the walks of humility," Wall Street took over command of the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean fleets. Thus, not only London's finances, but its entire post-war foreign policy was in crisis. "The heirs and successors of Palmerston and Disraeli made a fantastic blunder," Leonidov commented. "They attempted to duplicate methods of the nineteenth century and failed. The Downing Street chess players were working for a self-mate."

London's hopes of strengthening its economic and political power by adhering to Washington's over-all foreign policy proved vain and shortsighted. Instead, Wall Street drew the noose still tighter around its old rival. The Atlantic Pact that London helped to build was turning into an American alliance with the Ruhr men. Britain was being auctioned off in favour of Western Germany.

All this does not mean that the British ruling circles will capitulate without a struggle. They also seemed to be giving way completely during their days of appeasing Hitler Germany, but they were eventually forced to alter their course. There are some indications that this time, threatened as they are with total disaster, they may abandon their World War III calculations.

In 1946, at Fulton, Missouri, Churchill urged that the atomic bomb be brandished more vigorously against Moscow. By 1952, however, the British oligarchy hesitated to approve Washington's proposal to use the bomb against Peking, lest it boomerang against London.

In a speech on January 17, 1951, delivered before a joint session of Congress, Churchill said: "Our security resides

in valiant, resolute and well-armed manhood rather than the awful secrets wrested from nature by science." In the interim, long-range aircraft had destroyed British naval supremacy, and Soviet possession of the atom bomb had undermined Britain's strategic position. "The British are frightened," wrote the *Herald Tribune*, "because the Russian Lavochkin fighter is superior to any R.A.F. fighter. The British people, or rather, their present leaders, are bone-tired. Their élan is all used up. In this exhausted condition, the British find themselves confronted with the grim Kremlin's atom bomb."

It is quite probable that decisive sections of the British oligarchy are beginning to realize that neither their class nor their system would survive another world war. On May 11, 1953, Churchill and Attlee belatedly condemned Washington's open sabotage of the armistice negotiations in Korea. Churchill also prodded Eisenhower to accept the Soviet offer for a conference of the big powers. On the same day he also bragged before the House of Commons that Britain was capable of defending Suez and her other stakes in Egypt without U.S. military aid. His boast was delivered at the time Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was "surveying" the U.S. partners in the Middle East. These and other diplomatic moves illustrate London's increasing independence of U.S. dictation, and its growing effort to regain its former political mobility and role as peace and war broker.

The Pentagon men, in the meantime, continue to regard their bases on the British Isles as strategically essential. They pay the Bank of England a \$400 million annual rental for 30 bomber bases there—more than Britain earned from its total 1951 exports to the U.S.A., besides the billions spent on their construction. These bases, plus the tens of thousands of troops manning them, form the umbrella of the U.S. forces on the continent. "Britain," wrote R. Palme Dutt, "remains for them (the U.S. trusts) the decisive base and bulwark without which they cannot hope to fulfill their vast ambitions for world expansion and domination."

Without British co-operation, therefore, it is questionable whether U.S. plans for a Third World War *via Europe* could materialize. British hesitations always bring severe repercussions in their wake, in Bonn and Paris, Rome and Athens.

Washington will continue, therefore, to press the British for more and tighter commitments, and London will find it increasingly difficult to play a dual game. In view of the suicidal role assigned to Britain, in view of its worsening economic position and the alternative roads open, a major Anglo-American split looms as a definite possibility.

Until 1950, Washington thought it expedient to deny that it was restoring German fascist militarism. It covered its programme with the bold lie of "rebuilding Germany as a self-respecting democratic nation." As late as 1951, McCloy was still issuing statements to the effect that "We are not pressing, or even asking the German youth to fight for us or anybody else."

West German Arena

France, and Britain were still hedging, because they still feared the people's revulsion against the crime of rearming the hangmen of yesterday. To calm popular resentment, the Paris and London valets, each in turn, swore they would never permit the restoration of a militarist Germany. In July 1949, Robert Schuman declared in the French National Assembly, "Germany has no army and must not have one. She has no armaments, and will not have them. Germany, a member of the Atlantic Pact? Never." Speaking on August 30, 1949, Jules Moch, the right-wing Socialist Minister of the Interior, said, "If it were proposed to integrate Germany on an equal footing with other countries, and to allow her to arm, we should be madmen if we agreed to it." What they were seeking, was a way to commit that outrage in stages.

Paris and London also feared the reaction of the USSR.

Their rearming of Western Germany, they knew, violated all their commitments under the Potsdam agreement. Moreover, it tore to shreds the 1942 Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and the 1944 Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance, both of them containing pledges not to take part in any coalition directed against the other party.

After the U.S. military débacle in Korea, the covert restoration of the Hitlerites changed into a brazenly open one. German cannon fodder rose in value. In December 1950, at the Brussels conference of the NATO powers, Acheson brusquely rejected all proposals for negotiating with the Soviet Union and overrode various Anglo-French, Dutch, and Belgian objections to the creation of a European army with the Wehrmacht as its pivot. Over 1,500 West German plants already engaged in war production were ordered to step up their arms output. All formal restrictions on the manufacture of poison gas, chemicals, planes, and other weapons were removed. Bonn was told to reject all offers of peace and unity made by the German Democratic Republic, as well as Soviet offers on withdrawing occupation troops and establishing a united democratic German state.

The Adenauer gang, like the Syngman Rhee crowd, was ordered by Washington to bark and threaten war. "Germany," declared Adenauer on July 7, 1951, "must play an active and decisive role in defence of Western Europe against Soviet aggression; it must be strong again, for only in this way can we get the East back again." "This speech marks Adenauer a good European and good Christian," commented the *New York Times* the next day. "He emerged as the leader of the European coalition," i.e., the war camp. H. C. Seeböhm, Adenauer's Minister of Transport, flanked by black-shirted guards and saluting the swastika, declared: "The Nazi era was Germany's historical greatness. No German will ever recognize the frontiers of 1937 imposed by the Treaty of Versailles." Under the benevolent guidance of U.S. officials, the Halders and Guderians proclaimed that the German soldiers who fought against the Soviet Union were the precursors of the Americans.

In restoring German militarism, however, the Drapers, Harrimans, and McCloyes were running up against the very contradictions which had plagued the Chamberlains, Hendersons, and Daladiers. "The Germans are unable to see any other point of view but their own or to compromise," reported the Bonn supporter, Drew Middleton, adding, "And if they act like this now, what will they be like when they have their equality and their arms?" Apparently, the price of keeping the voracious Krupp and I. G. Farben men in line was steadily rising. Aware of their indispensability, their appetites whetted, they kept on raising their demands.

The Ruhr men had already shown their true colours even while they were being groomed. Hoping to secure a leading role, the French monopolists supported the Schuman Plan, whereby France, Italy, Belgium, and Luxembourg were to pool their coal and steel industries with those of Western Germany. They spoke of a "common destiny and ending their ancient feuds." But the Ruhr men thought otherwise. After signing the Schuman Plan, Herman Abs, a spokesman for the Ruhr trusts, promptly declared, "The Ruhr and not France will hold sway in this alliance." London, fearing a new super-cartel competitor under Wall Street control, refused to join the plan.

In their talks with the American masters, the Krupp-Adenauer crowd was already sneering at Anglo-French weakness. Using the old Hitler formula of defending Europe against the "Communist menace," the Ruhr trusts forged ahead to gain military and industrial superiority over France and Britain and manoeuvred to restore their hegemony over the Comité des Forges, Schneider Creusot, Vickers Armstrong, and Imperial Chemicals. The Herren Klub men were to march East again, but only after first making a slight detour via the Saar and Paris.

To serve its ends, Wall Street must have a Western Germany both militarily strong and thoroughly nazified. It placed no trust in the various West German petty-bourgeois parties or in the Social-Democrats who pleaded with the Drapers and McCloyes to allow them to carry out Wash-

ington's programme, but without putting the Nazis back in power. Wall Street rejected their proposal and insisted on restoring Hitler's former associates to leadership. And the closer it came to the Contractual Agreement date, when Bonn was to be granted its "sovereignty" under continued American occupation, the more openly Hitlerite did the Bonn regime become.

Shortly before that ceremony on May 26, 1952, a dispatch by Russel Hill to the *New York Herald Tribune* revealed that "85 per cent of the leaders in the West German Foreign Office are former Nazi Party members. ... This is a larger proportion than under Joachim von Ribbentrop, who was executed in 1946 as a war criminal. ... All the division heads of the political section, including its chief, are former Nazis and former members of the old Foreign Office." Even Goebbels' Reich Press Chief, Otto Dietrich, was back. The anti-Soviet Social-Democrats boycotted the signing of the contract and called it "a black day for Germany."

Realizing that a renazified, remilitarized West Germany may run at cross purposes to its builders, the Washington, Paris, and London oligarchies are looking for a special kind of Hitlerism—strong enough to serve as a useful tool against the European working classes and as a war spearhead against the East, but weak enough to obey orders. They are searching for some sort of "cosmopolitan Nazism," untainted with chauvinist nationalist sentiments. "The Germans are a difficult people to satisfy," wailed François Poncet, the French High Commissioner, as the rancorous Franco-German Saar feud broke into the open. "It is our duty to lift ourselves from national ideas to truly supra-national ones," he admonished them.

Noting that the Bonn Nazis were proving ever more difficult partners, raising ever more impertinent demands, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, the British High Commissioner, angrily scolded them by declaring. "Bonn must drop irresponsible nationalism and stand up to be counted in the fight against Communism. The Germans can no more remain

neutral than animals in the jungle in the struggle between Communism and freedom."

However, one thing is certain, Sir Ivone's beasts will not stay put. Once the militarist fascist Bonn crowd attain a measure of strength and independence, it will be their own calculations, and not those of London or Washington, that will come to the fore. Their respect for Soviet might and the Red Army is rather robust. Even their most ferocious specimens still remember something about the Eastern and Western fronts, and their differences. "Of course, we will fight," they tell their Wall Street bosses. "But you must guarantee us that the decisive battles will not be fought on our territory"—a trifling condition.

The American generals point to the Dnieper, Bug, and Vistula, instead of the Rhine. But these names are like the mention of rope in the house of the hanged. They recall the millions of Germans who perished there in two world wars. Thus, to march East again, Western Germany would have to be turned once more into a Hitlerite asylum. This is what Wall Street is attempting to do, but at the risk of being bitten itself, once the task is finished.

At any rate, a Western Germany strong enough to serve as a tool of aggression against the East will be strong enough to get out of acting as Wall Street's tool. Having evaluated the U.S. performance in Korea, the West German rulers may decide that they have nothing to gain and everything to lose by acting once more as the suicide squad for the Anglo-American trusts.

To summarize: The re-emergence of the West German banking and armament trusts, their domination of the Bonn state apparatus, the reappearance of German capital exports in the Middle East, India, Africa, and Latin America, the restoration of the fascist legions—all these signify the resurrection of aggressive German imperialism. But this rebirth is taking place in a period of deepening general crisis and shrinking world markets and also under the fetters of U.S. occupation.

Washington is fattening the Ruhr at the expense of

France and Britain because it regards the Nazi Bonn regime as the kingpin of its NATO war camp. In addition, the Mellon, Morgan, and Rockefeller combines have also penetrated the decisive West German heavy industries. However, because of the extremely uneven position of the U.S. and West German trusts, their apparent unity is actually rent by profound contradictions. The Ruhr men regard their present subordination to the United States as a temporary stage on the way to achieving independent imperialist expansion and ridding themselves of the foreign yoke. Wall Street regards them as means to an end and presses for speedier war preparations; but the German trusts, anxious to regain their markets and capital position, desire a slower pace and fall behind.

The U.S. must pressure the Bonn men in the direction of an essentially anti-national policy; but the latter, seeking to gain mass support, must dress their quisling tasks in the garb of "national" interests. Here, in the U.S.A., is a people who know little or nothing of war and whose ruling class can still bamboozle it with schemes for rapid conquest; there, in West Germany, is a people with the bitter consequences of two wars of aggression still fresh in their memory. And finally, there is the German Democratic Republic, a third of the nation, which, together with the vast majority of the West German people demands peaceful reunification.

Widening Cleavages

Washington's closer alliance with the Bonn monopolists is sharpening all the inter-imperialist antagonisms. West German competition is undermining the French and British position on the world market, which in turn serves to weaken them in relation to the Ruhr-Wall Street axis. Growing sections of the Belgian, Dutch, British, and French ruling classes are becoming more terrified by the spectre of a rearm-ed, revanchist Bonn-Hitlerite camarilla. In the House of

Commons, Hugh Dalton, former minister in the Labour government declared in the name of his Labour colleagues that "German rearmament might prove to be an irrevocable step on the road to hell on earth."

In Paris the restoration of the Wehrmacht raised discord even among anti-Sovieteers. Jacques Bardoux, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said, "Your Europe will be dominated by Germany, economically and militarily. It will not be the Europe of Briand. . . . It will be the Europe of Hitler." George Heuillard, member of the French National Assembly and former inmate of Flossen-burg concentration camp, where all his resistance comrades were killed and from which he returned crippled and incurably ill, told the Assembly, "I am going to die. My election to office found me in a hospital. I am dying because of the German army. I do not want my sons or my grandsons to be incorporated as comrades-in-arms with the tyrants and butchers of their father, that my son should serve side by side with the son of von Stulpnagel." As he finished, the entire Assembly rose to its feet—Communists, de Gaullists, Socialists, Radicals, Catholics, and Conservatives—all of them cheering.

In 1952 and 1953 some of the hidden strains and antagonisms between Washington and its West European allies began to come out into the open. "The time when the U.S. could intervene directly in the affairs of Western Europe with propriety and profit is passing," reported Drew Middleton. Italy, Belgium, and France were balking at signing the treaty with Bonn. "Russian tactics of doing as little as possible to arouse and frighten America's allies is increasing their optimism and complacency." Direct U.S. intervention, Middleton noted, would only increase the independence of foreign governments and bolster the nationalist claims of right-wing parties to independence of American masters. British financial organs cried out against "the dollar dragon which is attempting to gobble up the imperial maidens one by one." The French protested that the United States was undermining their position in North Africa and

refused to play ball with the U.S. monopolies in Morocco. "The French," declared Auriol on October 25, 1952, "felt pain and bitterness and were deeply offended to be cited before the U.N. as oppressors of man in North Africa." Herriot added, "I asked the U.S. to spare us certain proceedings, like dragging us before the U.N. at the very moment the Americans set up military bases in Morocco, thus undermining their own positions there."

Self-interest is compelling the West European bourgeoisie to get out from under the American juggernaut. The rearmament load, export problems, and the U.S.-imposed trade boycott against the socialist countries are multiplying their difficulties. Early in 1953, *Le Monde* wrote, "No dollar check would compensate for the economic bankruptcy of Europe, or could justify the reinstatement, under the guise of armament, of the former Nazi cadres for the new crusade, which is apparently in preparation."

Eisenhower spoke of the "disintegration of the moral fibre" of the French. But parliaments in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Denmark balked at carrying out the payment provision of the NATO armament programme. They also revolted against the stiffened conscription laws Washington demanded in order to enlarge the European army. As American trade and tariff restrictions grew tighter, some U.S. satellites resorted to independent action for the first time.

Renascent German imperialism, not content to remain a junior partner, began to impinge upon the interests of the U.S. monopolies themselves. "The Germans are underselling Swedish and American importers by 30 to 35 per cent and Africa is being lost to West German exporters," warned *U.S. News & World Report* on March 13, 1953. Meanwhile, American trusts used their West German partners to undermine the position of Britain—still their principal competitor. The British, on the other hand, used their financial control within the sterling area to shut out U.S. products. The Japanese increasingly rebelled against American restrictions and began to reconquer their former markets at

the expense of both the Americans and the British. Washington pressure notwithstanding, Belgium withdrew some tariff concessions and raised import duties on American goods.

To escape the dollar millstone, many European and Latin American countries began to trade by barter. Although Washington threatened reprisals, most of them sent delegations to the Moscow economic conference in April 1952, and concluded some limited trade agreements. On May 17, 1953, Western Germany established direct official contact with the Soviet Union, with the intention of resuming trade relations. In June 1953, both British and West German representatives rushed to Peking to conclude agreements calling for the delivery of about \$200 millions worth of industrial equipment to China.

The cleavages between Washington and London kept widening. Washington brusquely rejected the British demand for representation in the so-called Pacific Defence Pact negotiations with Australia and New Zealand in September 1951, and again in the conference held in Honolulu in 1952. This not only violated British interests but demonstrated Washington's intention of cutting London off from its Commonwealth ties.

The cruel spectacle staged by the U.S. military in Korea also left its mark upon the West European ruling classes. As long as the U.S. armies seemed to be winning, the London and Paris oligarchies applauded. But when the U.S. forces suffered defeat, they ran for the nearest exit. Confidence in the capacity of U.S. forces to defend their territories in case of war rapidly waned. Also, the Korean war revealed that the Pentagon's ultimate plans for Paris and London were no different from their plans for Seoul or Pyongyang. As a result, some European ruling circles began to express their horror of being "liberated" by the United States. The conservative *Paris Presse* wrote, "The Nuremberg trials did not succeed in reforming the habits of the total war makers. We could not read without tremor the order of the American general that 'each soldier must know that we are not

here to save this or that small village.' ... A French military tribunal, let us recall, recently condemned German officers for issuing such orders. It did not admit any arguments in defence of bombarding or putting on fire open cities or villages." Other European bourgeois organs voiced like sentiments.

In January 1953, Dulles issued an ultimatum to the Western powers to sign on the dotted line for the speedy ratification of the European army plan. He threatened, but London and Paris were no longer frightened. France rejected Dulles' ultimatum on so-called European unity. Britain bluntly replied that it would not join any European political federation or the West European army. Eisenhower, in turn, rebuffed Churchill's proposal for a meeting of the top leaders of the major powers by declaring that "There will be no such discussions until the Russians have demonstrated good faith."

British leaders were furiously denounced in the Senate. "This is the thanks we get for the billions we have given to Britain. Twice we have saved them from defeat. Again and again we have saved them from bankruptcy," said Senator William F. Jenner of Indiana. "Let's sink every accursed British ship carrying material to our enemies," added McCarthy. Senator Guy M. Gillette asked, "Where is the dynamic new spirit that was to infuse the whole free world with the determination to meet the Soviet challenge? How does one attain strength through weakness? What has become of the leadership the U.S. was going to exercise under the new administration?"

Loyalty Among Pirates

The U.S.-fostered war alliance is composed of bands of quislings, whose temporary loyalty depends on continuous dollar bribery. The London, Bonn, Madrid, and Istanbul speculators compete with one another for the lion's share of the graft. Each claims to be "most threatened by the

Communist menace." Anti-Communism has become their mainstay and livelihood. Each promises that another billion dollars will put its troops into a condition where nothing can restrain them from marching on Moscow. Salivating like hungry beasts on reading the profit statements of the U.S. trusts, each fights to convince the master hound that it deserves the juiciest bones. Each pinches its cheeks to show its healthy colour, but also claims to be on the verge of imminent collapse.

As Anglo-Saxons, London claims, we deserve the most, and besides, we speak the loudest about "Soviet aggression." "History and geography," declared *L'Aurore*, "have imposed on France the mission of European defence. It will not fail." *L'Echo de Paris* wrote: "We must not appeal to sentiments or altruism [to get the dollars] but to American national interest." The Banque de France pointed to the monetary costs of its war against Viet Nam, which are twice the \$2.9 billion France received in Marshall Plan aid.

Everyone claims that his is the last bastion. General Jean Lattre de Tassigny, Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in the Far East, pleaded before a Wall Street committee in New York, "Gentlemen, once Tongking is lost, there is really no barrier before Suez. It would mean the end of Islam, upheavals in North Africa. I will leave to your imagination what all this would mean." Churchill immediately countered, "Britain must be given first priority because America's principal atomic base is located there." Chiang, Tsaldaris, and Franco point to their records and petition Washington: Who frankly deserves a bigger Treasury check? But none of them can compare with the Ruhr applicants, whose record speaks for itself.

What, if anything, can turn these wrangling buccaneers into reliable allies? Loyalty to a "common cause?" But what is there to unite the French, German, British, Turkish, Greek, or Spanish ruling classes with one another or with that of the United States except their common hatred of the Soviet Union and their common desire for dollars and weapons with which to stay in power? All of them agree

in principle on the desirability of a Third World War to "liquidate Communism," and it is with this substance that the American imperialists hope to glue their alliances together. But each, naturally, wants the other to pay the high price which the gamble entails.

Anti-Communism, to be sure, serves to prop up decaying, crisis-ridden regimes, as well as to plunder the people through huge armament budgets. Anti-Communism also provides a surface cover for imperialist "common destiny" talk. But can the fiction of Soviet aggression serve as the basis for an actual fighting alliance? Hardly. For history has shown that alliances based on fictions collapse the moment they are subjected to real tension.

Under the cover of temporary agreements and unctuous speeches about "unity and co-operation," each fears and seeks to undermine the other. Although harnessed in the common aim of crushing the people's liberation movement, the American, British, and French trusts in Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East carry on a life-and-death struggle against each other. Each plots and intrigues to get rid of the other through various military cliques and assassins. These internecine conflicts continue, even though they interfere with the fulfilment of common desires. In Indochina, for example, Wall Street until recently supported the French trusts no more than to bleed them to the point of insolvency, after which it stepped in to take over. But in the meantime, the strength of the Viet Nameese forces had grown many times over.

A conclave between Washington and London worries the French. One between Bonn and Paris exasperates the British. "In view of what we are going to get as compared to what India is getting, we are quite suspicious as to the real U.S. intentions," declared a Pakistan official. Thus, a U.S. loan to India alienates the Pakistan grafters, and one to the Tel Aviv war speculators embitters those in Cairo, Amman or Baghdad. "While the French believe their crisis is comparable to Britain's, they suspect that, as in the past, Britain will receive first consideration in Washington,"

complained *Le Figaro*. "France will not allow itself to be placed in an inferior position to Western Germany," warned *Le Monde*. "There is no use antagonizing the East unless we first get the Saar," replied the Bonn rulers.

Knowing its own mind and morality, each gang of capitalists has to be constantly on guard lest it be stabbed in the back by the other. Each, knowing that the other regards it as expendable, must determine every day anew how far its interests still coincide with the other's and discover the proper lies to cover its own deceit.

For each of them knows that for a given price, the others would commit any kind of crime. The Chiang Kai-shek vultures know that those of Tokyo would attempt to devour them the moment their teeth are resharpened. The Ruhr hyenas know that those of Wall Street who bombed them yesterday would do so again for nothing more than an extra profit. Those of London know the same about their Bonn compatriots, those of Rome about their London friends, and so on—for such is the law of capitalist survival. They would have to cease being capitalists to calculate otherwise. Long-term unity among imperialists, therefore, is as fantastic an assumption as concord among hungry beasts.

Make no mistake about it; another war is inevitable, the Morgan-Du Pont men, in effect, tell their friends and allies. "Your economic worries are really trifling matters, and in this war, believe us, we either sink or swim together. Will another hundred million tide you over?" But those ungrateful beggars dare to ask, "Who will sink or swim first?" "Don't worry, we will win," Washington exhorts them. But its weak allies realize that regardless who wins, they will be destroyed, and that in the final analysis, it is for the latter purpose that they are being fattened.

All of them—perhaps until the very last moment—will continue to say, "Give us the money and the weapons." But at the showdown, when further steps will bring something far less cheerful than a Wall Street check, this coalition is bound to disintegrate. And one of the first points of dissen-

sion will be on the question of who is to be sacrificed first. Paris will prefer to fight to the last Turk; Rome to the last Greek; London to the last German; and Washington to the last of all of them

Chapter X

Part Four

Pentagon Design for World War III

THE MEN who formulate U.S. foreign policy and Pentagon military strategy now speak of the need for a "new look," of the need to reappraise the ways and means for attaining their global ends. Slowly but inexorably events are forcing them to realize that their means do not correspond to their ends.

The first phase of the hot and cold war against the socialist world sector, which began at the close of World War II, has ended in failure. The rupture of economic relations with the USSR, China, and the People's Democracies led to contraction of exports and deepened all other aspects of the general crisis of capitalism. The war against North Korea and China ended in a resounding military defeat. An Anglo-Soviet peace settlement or even a revival of the Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact loom as possible developments. Because of multiplying domestic problems, fear of premature isolation from its Western allies and above all the growing strength of the socialist world sector, the Eisenhower-Dulles team is now seeking to work out more flexible tactics and strategy.

With the signing of a truce in Korea, U.S. military and foreign policy appears to have entered a new phase. It seems as though Washington will eventually have to agree

to some kind of Five Power conference for the purpose of discussing the settlement of outstanding issues. The "bomb now" men have turned somewhat coy and silent. The "war now" group seems to be in full retreat. Sadly and half-heartedly, some of them publicly confess that a Big Power conference cannot be avoided. On a few occasions leading Wall Street spokesmen have even indicated that the settlement of outstanding issues, lessening of world tensions, and even the liquidation of certain aspects of the cold war "would not spell disaster for U.S. interests."

At the same time, however, Wall Street is pushing atomic and hydrogen bomb production to still higher levels. Billions are being poured into new bomber bases and other war projects. The rearmament of Western Germany is being stepped up. Beneath the surface of peace talk new war plans are being blue-printed on the basis of new strategic concepts. The goal is still more planes and still more weapons of mass destruction. And as long as this continues, Wall Street's ultimate objective—the crushing of the USSR, China, and the People's Democracies by force of arms—remains unchanged despite any professions on its part of "willingness to negotiate."

The questions thus arise: In what direction is U.S. political and military strategy now heading? By what ultimate steps do the U.S. monopolies hope to overcome the growing obstacles barring their drive to war and world domination? At the "very least," how do they expect to stop the wheels of history and slow the growth of socialism?

An examination of these questions is of particular import for the peace forces within the U.S.A., for some people now tend to believe that the change in the relationship of world forces, the growing disunity among the imperialist powers, the lessons of the Korean war and Soviet manufacture of the hydrogen bomb will *automatically* lead U.S. ruling circles to abandon their objectives. Such assumptions, we believe, are unwarranted and dangerous. They serve to lull the people into a false sense of security, to lower the vigilance of the peace movement and to blur the

truth that world peace cannot be won without a prolonged and bitter struggle.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that a lessening of war tensions is not synonymous with a lessening of the war danger, so long as the stock-piling of armaments continues. Indeed, the history of this century demonstrates that more intensified imperialist war preparations, and war itself, were preceded by periods of lowered international tension as well as by loud professions on the part of the imperialists of their desire to prevent and even to outlaw international wars.

Quest for Cannon Fodder

While trying to sell the American people the war against the Soviet Union, the Pentagon men always sweeten the pill with promises that others will do the fighting. Americans, they imply, will merely push buttons and fly the atomic airplanes. Their candidates to "do the fighting" are the peoples of Western Europe. In August, 1951, Eisenhower declared in a speech to members of the Senate: "It takes a man and a gun to fight. The United States is providing the gun, Europe the man," and again on February 2, 1951: "Europe must provide the bulk of the foot soldiers, ours is to be the small fraction, not the great fraction of the troops."

To bolster armament spending, Washington spokesmen come before the American people with tales from Paris, London, and Bonn of promises to fight. "We still have allies," they declare, waving papers with the signatures of various foreign ministers, who for value received lent their "good offices" to the confidence game.

Doubting Senators and Congressmen always ask the generals and bankers returning from "world survey" jaunts, "Will they fight?" "Of course they will fight," retort the war salesmen, tongue in cheek. Aware of the true state of affairs, Washington's medicine men keep on needling their

West European war horses with various stimulants. They rush about daily examining their pulse beats. They are worried lest their allies topple while donning their uniforms.

For never was there a more futile enterprise than the U.S. campaign to buy French or Italian cannon fodder for a war against the Soviet Union. Only a class without any sense of reality could conceive of the people of France, thrice invaded and ravaged by Krupp steel, seared and scarred by Nazi atrocities, teeming with millions of peace partisans, would join a resurrected Nazi-officered Wehrmacht for a war against the USSR. A Francois Poncet may proclaim that France does not recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier. But how many young men could he find in all France to fight for the Krupps, Speidels, Heusingers, and Adenauers, to reconquer for them territory robbed from the Poles by the Prussian kings?

Compared with 1953, the French working class and progressive movement in 1919 was still feeble. But even then French soldiers and marines refused to attack the young Soviet republic. The saga of that revolt is still treasured by millions in France as one of the most glorious chapters in the history of their people. Today the pledge, "France will never make war on the Soviet Union," is reverberating in literally every French town and village.

No less fantastic are the NATO men's hopes for Italian cannon fodder. "It is hard to see how a fighting spirit can be created in an army where every third man is a Communist voter," *Newsweek* dolefully reported. And as to West German cannon fodder David Lawrence reported: "You mention the word 'war' to anyone over there and they don't want any of it or any step leading to war. They are fed up. The German doesn't want any war because it will be fought in his front yard. He is the fellow who is against all war. There are more pacifists in Germany than anywhere else in the whole world."

The cost of equipping one American division, reported the Alsops, runs into \$250 million. One reason, therefore, for including Turkey in the Atlantic Pact army was the

fact that a Turkish soldier costs only \$500 a year complete with pay, housing, food, and equipment, as against \$2,700 for an American soldier. Hence, to many U.S. Senators and generals, semi-feudal, backward Turkey, with its trachoma, malaria, destitution, and jails filled with political prisoners, has become America's "life belt." A number of Senators declared, "We feel very strongly about Turkey; we need it if we are to live tomorrow."

Franco's divisions are another dazzling Wall Street acquisition. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, chief European correspondent of the *New York Times*, conceded, "It is by no means certain that Franco can mobilize Spain today or count on the support of the nation in a major military effort. Whatever their political ideas, Spain's workers are hungry. A distinguished Spaniard with whom I talked declared, 'Even if the members of the Atlantic Pact ask Franco to fight with them, the people of Spain will not follow his leadership.'" "Not follow" is, of course, an understatement. Spain's workers and peasants are waiting for the propitious moment to rise and crush the Franco scorpion.

Some of the other Washington bulwarks are the Keren-skys, Mikolajczyks, Ripkas, Pfeiffers, Fotics, Radescus, Papaneks, and the assortment of war-oriented refugee landlords around them. Though toothless and clawless, they often meet with the Clays, Grews, Kirks, and Stassens to advise them on how best to promote Project X for sabotage within their native countries. But partnership with these last-ditch groups, the dung that history has left behind in its forward march, bodes ill for Wall Street and its programme.

Wall Street's summons has evoked no response even among the many hundreds of thousands of unemployed "displaced persons" in Western Germany. In 1951 the U.S. military launched a campaign that they register for service in the U.S. Army. They cited the special alien enlistment law passed by Congress, which offers them U.S. citizenship, full pay, and other emoluments. On December 28, 1952,

after a year of effort, U.S. Army Headquarters in Frankfurt announced that it had recruited 484 aliens from 11 countries. The initial goal was 12,500. Apparently, the NATO failed to provide objectives worthy dying for.

With billions at their disposal, Morgan-Dulles and company, together with the Ruhr Herren Klub, will doubtlessly knock together some kind of West German army. But it won't be the same old gray mare again. Its leadership will consist of an assorted crew of fascist criminals, wanted in Eastern Europe for past war crimes. It is quite unlikely that their troops will distinguish themselves by any loyalty or real battle morale.

Thus, the U.S.-sponsored European war-horse will have many virtues—only it will be half-dead.

With questionable European, and no Latin American cannon fodder in sight, and confronting the task of convincing 160 million Americans to go on a lone crusade against a billion people, the U.S. military embraced the slogan of "getting the Asians to kill Asians."

Addressing both Houses of Congress, Eisenhower said on April 15, 1952, "If the United States could merely provide the rifle and get someone else to carry it in order to do the work that was necessary, I was perfectly content." So was General James A. Van Fleet who, on March 6, 1953, testified before the House and Senate Armed Services Committee: "This Oriental [he referred to the youth of South Korea.—*H.D.M.*] is, of course, a much cheaper man to maintain than an American boy. His pay is about 10 cents a month. There are no allowances. There is no insurance. When he is gone, he is gone, left right there. That is the end of him." "Only as a last resort should white men be sent to Asia," Brigadier General Roberts coolly declared. "We might use native troops instead of our own. We could pay them little, five dollars a month and a bowl of rice a day. If they do not fight, they do not eat."

Reports from the battlefield, however, showed that Washington's "cheaply" bought Syngman Rhee legions, among others, felt differently. "The commander of the se-

cond regiment," reported the *New York Times*, "rounded up stragglers at pistol point and made them fight. These South Koreans stayed only until the Chinese hit them again. Then they ran, babbling excuses. Nearly twenty miles of hard-won territory were lost to the Chinese in two days."

Obviously, then, in a war of aggression against the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies, most of the fighting and dying would have to be done by Americans themselves. The question now arises: With what sort of fighting morale can *they* be provided? The war against North Korea furnished a clear answer.

Military Consequences of Korea

The United States hurled against small North Korea all the power and might it could muster, its picked troops, its most modern weapons and most experienced commanders. *The total military force was greater than the one Eisenhower deployed for the Normandy invasion and the subsequent drive in Western Germany.* According to U.S. News & World Report, "More than 4.9 million Americans have been carried to, from or within the Korean war zone." *The bombs dropped on North Korea by U.S. planes in two years and eight months equalled the tonnage of the bombs dropped in the entire three years and eight months in the Pacific war against Japan and exceeded the tonnage of bombs dropped on Germany in World War II.* The report gave the total number of rockets and other munitions fired on North Korea by aircraft as 221,563,000. In addition, 438,000 tons of bombs and four million rounds of ammunition were fired by U.S. warships. "On the Korean front," declared Pentagon spokesmen, "we are employing the largest volume and most concentrated artillery fire in history."

The U.S. army possessed immense superiority over the People's Army in all kinds of weapons and equipment. Yet "the harsh, unassailable fact of the Korean campaign,"

wrote Homer Bigart in the New York *Herald Tribune*, "is that a fine American army, powerfully supported by an air-force and navy, was defeated by an enemy that [at the beginning] had no navy, virtually no air force and scarcely any armour or artillery." The Chinese volunteers, who defeated the U.S. forces at the Yalu, were equipped with light infantry weapons; they had no tanks and no air force and only a small amount of artillery.

Incapable of winning, the American military attempted to raze Korea with incendiary bombs. Every day for three years in succession, the 2,000-word communiques from MacArthur, Ridgway, Clark and Collins invariably read like this one: "Death and destruction rained from the skies and the seas yesterday as naval, sea and air units unleashed their terrific power over most of North Korea. The busy planes of Task Force 77 were well on their way toward equalling their record of Tuesday, when over 200 targets were consumed by the deadly fire of the Essex and Boxer aircraft. Swarming over the East coast, from Chongjin south to Kaesong, they hit nearly everything in sight that could be of use to the enemy, destroying forty-seven buildings, nine bridges, thirty-four box cars, eight gun positions, four warehouses and a pretentious array of supply dumps, trucks, small houses, vessels and troop concentrations. Planes swooped low over Hanju, leaving seventy-six buildings thoroughly cinderized. Firing at the rate of 15,000 pounds a minute, the United States Navy's mighty battleship, *Missouri*, yesterday poured out in less than one hour more than 800,000 pounds of death and destruction on enemy military targets in the city of Chongjin."

For almost two years the U.S. forces had unchallenged air and naval superiority. Some Korean towns and cities, like Wonsan, were bombed for 300 days without let up. But despite uninterrupted, round-the-clock bombings by armadas of planes, the Korean people did not knuckle under. All the "Operations Strangle," all the mass of explosives dropped on the peninsula's communications, failed to cut the flow of supplies to the People's Army at the front.

The astute Pentagon men knew these facts but failed to grasp their broader meaning. The Korean debacle merely served to arouse a bitter controversy between the so-called ground and air power schools. Hanson Baldwin, an adherent of the ground school, admitted failure and rejected the alibi of the air power school men that the use of atomic bombs would have brought victory. He wrote, "Our planes roam at will behind enemy front lines. We pound enemy communications day and night from the sky and on the sea flanks, the navy has carried on a bombardment unprecedented for duration and continuity. Nearly every major bridge in Korea has been blasted, not once but numerous times. Many miles of railroads, roads, road junctions, towns and tunnels are bombed and shelled. We have thousands of trucks, free use of the sea. . . . What has been the result?" he asked. "Have we isolated the enemy, or prepared the way for our ground troops to move forward with but little opposition?"

No doubt the figures and equations of both the ground and air power generals were mathematically above reproach. Relatively tiny North Korea ought to have been conquered, had it been defended simply by a "military force" instead of a people imbued with the morale of a just war of liberation.

The Korean war demonstrated anew that the decisive element is the human one—the loyalty, devotion, and self-sacrifice of the fighting forces, their consciousness and ideals. Lin Den Sen, one of Korea's famous war heroes, related, "At Taeku, we attacked American tanks with hand grenades, our men rushed forward to meet the enemy tanks. When our grenades and bullets gave out, we used our bayonets and those who had no bayonets went for the tanks with their bare hands." Such were the men and women who stalled Wall Street's gigantic war machine in Korea.

With amazing speed, countless squads of volunteers repaired bombed railroad tracks, roads, and vehicles to speed the millions of tons of supplies needed at the front. Youth, women, and peasants erected big underground fac-

torics in record time and often doubled their output. MacArthur ordered special air raid units to stop the sowing. Farmers dug foxholes and trenches and went on cultivating the fields. In many cases, they did their farming at night. Undaunted by terror bombing, the people rebuilt devastated towns and villages, opened 30 per cent more co-operatives in the midst of the war, improved the food supply, and extended the planted area.

"We are fighting an enemy who is strange beyond belief to us," wrote Greg McGregor. "He can freeze in his white uniform against the white masses of Korean hills. He can blend with spots of shrubbery, or cover himself with straw like an inanimate part of the landscape. . . . They can live like gophers and can be invisible when they wish, even to the practiced air and ground observers."

A people and its army merge into a solid wall of resistance whenever they are conscious of the justice of their cause. Countless heroes arise among them because love of country, pride in the land they have built, loyalty to a common ideal, and unutterable hatred of the foreign aggressor release the most powerful human energies. Setbacks or defeats temper them to steely hardness. As a whole, these spiritual forces turn into a power the imperialists can neither fathom nor conquer.

To the greedy traders, the spectacle of people fighting on after their homes were levelled and their dearest ones slaughtered, was altogether incomprehensible. To the imperialist and petty-bourgeois homunculus, the superb discipline and self-sacrificing spirit of the Korean and Chinese forces was a form of "fanaticism" and "savagery." In their moral depravity, they even conjectured that the intrepid heroism of the people's armies was due to the influence of "drugs." In an attempt to raise morale, American generals thus suggested that troops in Korea receive alcohol rations instead of ice cream.

American soldiers are able fighters. According to Stalin, "they showed themselves in the best light in the war against Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan" because

they regarded the war against these powers as completely just. "But the most experienced generals and officers," he declared, "can suffer defeat if the soldiers regard the war imposed upon them as profoundly unjust and if as a result they perform their duties on the front in a formal way ... without enthusiasm."

Although anxious to present its army in Korea in the most favourable light, Wall Street could not conceal the growing dissatisfaction and bitterness of the troops or their unwillingness to fight. "Few American soldiers know why they are in uniform," reported the *New York Times*. "The men ask many why's but there is no one to answer them." Many however drew their own conclusions. Lieutenant Gale T. Bunk, for example, wrote to Truman: "Our lives depend on the whims of five per centers, thieves and gangsters. How many more of my men must die on account of your stubborn refusal to pull out of Korea? I could write twenty pages on the utter uselessness of the Korean war, and of the righteous wrath of most of the boys," he declared in a letter published in the *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*.

"The army wonders why all its soldiers do not shoot their weapons in battle," the Associated Press wired from Korea. "Not more than one out of four men uses the rifle, automatic weapon or grenades he may be carrying." Army experts attributed it to "lack of motivation or the will to fight and kill, the desire to keep the front all quiet, and fear of provoking the enemy." Bill Davidson reported that over 50 per cent of the American combat troops in Korea did not fire their weapons. Military advisors, he noted, recommended remoulding "psychology on the basis of mob psychology techniques," making killers "by teaching the soldiers to yell." General Marshall, he wrote, advocated, "Let them holler to overcome inhibitions against killing."

General Ridgway exhorted the troops with such drivel as, "Real estate in Korea is an incidental matter, so is the cause of freedom for the South Koreans. What is at stake is the power of Western civilization as God permitted it to

flower." But most soldiers found it hard to believe that God had moved to Washington.

Battlefield correspondents told of disillusion and bewilderment. "American and British troops," wrote the *London Times*, "are subject to a strain greater than that of many deadlier wars because the objects are vague, and the object of sacrifice, other than staving off ruin, appears so evanescent." Reporting how veterans in Korea welcomed new replacements, George Barret cabled, "As the new recruits landed, they were greeted by veterans shouting, 'Go back, you fools, go back.'"

"The vast majority of the American soldiers hate the war," reported four correspondents of the reactionary Paris newspaper *Figaro*. "Our American friends feel deeply humiliated. Their confidence in their forces and weapons is greatly shaken. Companies surrounded regiments, and regiments defeated divisions." "I was in Korea and saw the behaviour of Army elements," declared Lieutenant Commander O. Sponer, "and I became almost ashamed of my nationality. Army troops in Korea were cowardly and ran wildly from a Chinese Communist attack, leaving their dead and wounded behind." Some of the soldiers, he said, pretended to be casualties in order to be taken to the rear. Marguerite Higgins, a New York *Herald Tribune* reporter, who witnessed the rout of the American forces at Chonan, wrote: "I saw young Americans turn and bolt in battle, or throw down their arms cursing their government for what they thought was embroilment in a hopeless cause. It was routine to hear comments like, 'just give me a jeep and I know which direction I'll go in.'"

Such was the fighting morale of the U.S. troops in the "little" Korean war. In their more sober moments, did the trigger-happy Pentagon men and their backers ponder over possible morale in an equally unjust but far bigger war? Or how the American people might vote with war casualties a hundred times higher?

Washington is already finding great difficulty in building up a seasoned army. "Among draftees," reported U.S.

News & World Report, on March 6, 1953, "only 2 per cent stay in the Army after their two year draft term is up. The prospect is a nightmare for Army generals. They do not see how a nation can fight a modern war with two year soldiers unless there is a plentiful supply of seasoned non-commissioned officers and specialists to lead the inexperienced men in battle ... but Korean soldiers are leaving the Army by the thousands as their enlistments expire, and they say they aren't coming back."

The decay of imperialist armies is part of the decay of bourgeois society as a whole. In this period of the general crisis, when the entire capitalist state apparatus reeks of corruption, it is practically impossible to indoctrinate soldiers with any kind of enduring morale. Imperialism cannot furnish its armies with any positive ideals. Propaganda myths dissolve as soon as they collide with reality. In the end, incredible cynicism and corruption corrode the initial morale of imperialist troops.

The Korean war furnished conclusive proof that the United States has no land army for a war of aggression against either China or the Soviet Union, and that it can never hope to win any kind of war against both.

Korea discredited the inflated Pentagon hopes of victory through air power. It exploded the yarns of victory through blitz warfare, as well as the other delusions fed the American people by the airplane millionaires. The inability of the U.S. military to conquer North Korea, an area approximately the size of Utah, exposed the utter lunacy of their global ambitions.

The Korean war also demonstrated that the United States has no stable allies. During two years of insistent demands by Washington, its satellites could muster no more than 20,000 ground troops. Gone were the days not only of easy victories, but also of fighting wars by proxy.

Such are some of the military lessons that emerged from the Korean war. These lessons are extremely important because they furnish a graphic preview of history's

verdict, should U.S. and world imperialism unleash a third World War.

Some of the more fact-respecting members of the U.S. ruling class, especially the top Wall Street consortium steering America's ship of state, have taken note of these lessons. Indeed, their impact began to make itself felt as early as the winter and spring of 1951, immediately after the dismissal of MacArthur. It precipitated the "great debate" on U.S. foreign and military strategy.

The Great Debate: War Now or Later?

Ex-president Herbert Hoover fired the opening salvo. In a series of speeches and in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees in March 1951, he subjected the Truman-Acheson foreign policy to scathing criticism. "Fifty years of experience and the rightness of my past proposals," he reminded his Wall Street cronies, entitled him to be heard. He recalled his unheeded warning against the war alliance with the Soviet Union, sponsored by Roosevelt, and "the mistake" of helping to crush Nazi Germany. Britain was safe as long as Hitler's armies were diverted to Russia. "Aid to Russia was a gargantuan jest," he mourned. Hoover's main conclusion was that American foreign policy was heading toward political bankruptcy and economic insolvency. "We cannot carry for long the gigantic expenditures and tax loads in arming the whole free world," he declared. Besides, he stated, "we are wasting our good money, for the armies we build won't get to Moscow. The 240 excellently equipped German divisions failed in this attempt and Russia was then alone. Today Russia and China alone, not to mention the other socialist countries, could raise fifty million-strong armies if necessary. . . . Western Europe cannot even raise 125 fighting divisions. . . . France will not fight a war with Germany as a partner."

Hoover went so far as to declare, "U.S. dollars will buy

the West European politicians but not the cannon fodder. The millions of Communists and peace partisans of Western Europe will not fight against Russia. There is no way of preventing Russia from overrunning continental Europe. . . . The Red Army could take the Ruhr in 48 hours," and "U.S. troops sent to Europe will be massacred. Separated by 3,000 and 4,000 miles of ocean, America is safe against Communist invasion," and "Communist armies can no more get to Washington than allied armies can get to Moscow." Hoover then prescribed his remedy: "*The way to punish the aggressor is from the air. . . . By using the ultimate remedy . . . to carry on a kind of war for Stalin's destruction for indefinite years by U.S. air bombardment of the Soviet Union, so powerful, so sustained as to knock it out as a nation.*" And this, he added, "would be less costly." [Emphasis mine—H.D.M.]

The late Senator Robert A. Taft, like the other isolationists, agreed with most of Hoover's premises. Taft declared, "Even if we send to Europe one and a half million of our troops, there is a chance they may be destroyed. We spent thousands of millions and all we got was inflation, higher taxes and five hundred million more Communists . . . Bankrupt England and a Wehrmacht opposed by the French have become our only hopes." Taft demanded *a cut in money and manpower for the armed forces, and a more vigorous war in the Far East.* "I see nothing inconsistent about it," he asserted. By "a more vigorous war" Taft meant the bombing of China's cities.

Joseph E. Kennedy, former Ambassador to England, summarized the failure of U.S. dollar diplomacy by adding up the sums expended and the aid which the United States received in return. "For the \$38 billion we dispensed to Britain in the last ten years, she gave us 6,000 soldiers in Korea." "France received \$9.5 billion in that period and sent us 1,000 soldiers." He then listed sums furnished to Belgium, Turkey, Sweden, Greece, and Italy. He concluded that since the United States has no fighting allies, it would be suicidal to engage in a land war against the

tremendous Soviet and Asian forces. "We must withdraw from Korea and choose our battlefield," he ended.*

General Albert C. Wedemeyer, of the same group, asserted, "I want to take the strategic initiative away from that enemy. ... *We must avoid large-scale land fighting which we would lose.* It was a mistake to have gone into Korea in the first place with ground forces ... It is a bottomless pit." [Emphasis mine—H.D.M.] He recommended getting out of Korea, breaking diplomatic relations with Russia, full mobilization, bombing China and Manchuria, and, if this set off a third World War, "going it alone" if necessary.

Similar arguments were advanced by practically all the other so-called isolationists. The isolationist wing of the American ruling class traditionally stood for a more chauvinistic, reactionary domestic programme. They favoured profiting by war without making any fixed commitments, or as they put it, "avoiding entanglements in European power politics." Before and during the Second World War, they were openly pro-Nazi, but anti-Japanese. Yet, when the Hoovers and Tafts began to blast the Truman-Acheson foreign policy, many believed that at least one section of the American ruling class had finally realized the danger

* Some economic motives may have also played a part in this tactical divergence between the Asia first and Europe first groups. Middle Western financial groups have less of a stake in Europe and tend to object to high tax burdens for aid to Western Europe. New York banks handled 93 per cent of the Marshall Plan business. Unlike the Eastern Morgan Rockefeller interests, Chicago finance circles, it was shown by George Stewart, "play a negligible role in the export of capital, particularly to Europe." (See "The Chicago Groups of Finance Capital," by George Stewart, *Political Affairs*, July 1951.) However, as early as November 11, 1944, Vandenberg wrote to John Foster Dulles, "I really think it is a little short of amazing that our views on foreign policy should have proved so emphatically harmonious. One of the most interesting and significant things thus demonstrated is the fact that so-called 'isolationists' and so-called 'internationalists' are not necessarily very far apart and really may be 'brothers under the skin.'" (*Herald Tribune*, March 25, 1952.)

of its present course. These so-called isolationists, however, were equally violent and even more impatient interventionists searching for a more "realistic" strategy.

The basic theses of the "war now" wing could be *paraphrased* as follows:

1. The Korean experience demonstrated that the United States can no longer hope to win a land war against the socialist world sector. "We could bleed ourselves to death in such a war," declared some of them. At the special Senate hearings MacArthur pounded, "You have lost a million men now. You will lose more than a million if you go on another year."

2. The USSR will never go to war unless we attack it; hence, Western Europe is safe until we attack. After we attack, Western Europe cannot be held anyhow. Why then invest all those billions? Eventually we shall be compelled to abandon Western Europe. Why not now?

3. The people of Western Europe are war-weary and dread the prospect of a third World War. Its millions of Communists and peace partisans form a tremendous obstacle. German rearmament, the restoration of the Wehrmacht, and the provocation of the war in Europe will take time.

4. But time is not on our side. If we wait until we have enough killers in Europe, we are lost. The peace movement and the socialist world sector as a whole are getting more powerful every day. Of course, we are doing our utmost to weaken and undermine them, but sabotage, boycotts, subversion and limited wars have been tried before. Today's new tempo of development in China and the People's Democracies, not to speak of the USSR, can no longer be halted in this way. Any kind of truce works on the side of the Soviet Union and its allies. Indeed we have already lost our best opportunities. The Soviet atom-bomb stockpile is growing. They may outstrip us in this field too. Pleading before the Senate Committee for war now, MacArthur asserted on May 4, 1951, "It cannot be

solved by the nebulous process of saying 'give us more time and we will be prepared; or we will be in a better shape two years from now.' I don't know whether we will or not; and neither do you, because you do not know and none of us know the capacity of the enemy. He may build faster than we do."

5. Since time is against us, we must stop playing with peace-and-democracy phrases and discard our masks. The chief objective of U.S. policy is to destroy the Soviet Union and arrest the growth of socialism. The problem, therefore, is how to provoke Russia into a war. One possibility is a preventive war, a sudden unprovoked Hitler type of attack. But it would be preferable to launch such a war in a series of steps, under the cover of the United Nations. China has already been condemned as an aggressor. Because of its treaty with China, Russia is bound to come in sooner or later if we bomb Manchuria. Korea also offers the chance to start World War III under the guise of a peace crusade, of seeking to liquidate the war to save American lives.

6. Experience in Korea has shown that the American people are unwilling to bleed in wars of aggression. Our slogan, therefore, should be "A war without spilling American blood." Senator Cain said to General Collins in the Senate hearings: "One of the most effective ways to punish Red China would be to carry fire bombs into their cities, simply ignite their cities and burn them; that would not entail a great loss of American lives, would it?"

The question of when, how, and under what circumstances the Soviet Union could or should be provoked into a war thus became the number one subject of debate among the Pentagon, the Senators, and the State Department. Over and over again, during the Senate hearings of May and June 1951, they frantically asked each other, "Would the bombardment of the Manchurian industries bring the Soviet Union directly into war?" MacArthur replied that he was willing to take the risk. The "war later" group emphasized that the U.S. was not yet prepared for the gamble.

It is no gamble at all, countered members of the "war now" group. Senator Wiley asked, "Is there a single instance of Soviet action at *any* time, at *any* place against *anyone* ... that she would risk war and our atomic bombs regardless of *any* action we might take?" Nearly every Senator asked, "Can we win a war with Russia *now*?" The answers ranged from the equivocal to the negative.

But those pressing for a war now argued it both ways. First, the time for war against the "Soviet aggressor" is now, and the quickest way to provoke it is by bombing China. Second, since Russia wants to avoid war, she won't bother even if we do bomb Manchuria.

Granted that war with Russia now is a desirable objective, countered the "war later" group; granted that the bombing of China would serve as an excellent provocation for that purpose. But suppose Russia somehow fails to accommodate us and refuses the fight—what then? Suppose we bomb China, and Russia somehow keeps out, and we bog down in an endless campaign of attrition, as Japan did? We would then be involved in a major war that would, as Hanson Baldwin wrote, "be likely to continue for a long time. ... We might be shadow-boxing with the real opponent, Russia, while heavily engaged with the secondary opponent, China." "Extension of the war to China," argued General Marshall, "would not be profitable, because China is a vast country," and "can wipe off the slate easily from bombing losses, where we could not."

Others in the "war later" camp pointed to the inability of the U.S. air force to wrest victory in Korea, despite its early total superiority and freedom to engage in saturation-bombing. How, then could air power become decisive over the immensely vaster areas of Asia and Europe? Former Air Chief Vandenberg was then brought in to testify that the U.S. Air Force was not ready for that task. "What was being sought by the air leaders," he added, "was the creation of a force so great as to dominate the world."

"The impatient and discouraged elements want war now with the Soviet Union and the fighting to begin," were

Acheson's very words on May 21, 1951. "But to abandon our allies now" he continued, "would be suicidal. We must rearm the West as well as all the groups throughout the world while carrying on a limited war in Korea." On April 18, 1951, Acheson also warned that "We must not fall into the trap of seeming to choose it [the war]. . . . We must guard against being condemned the world over as aggressors."

"We cannot afford the gamble of a war with Russia until we ourselves are in a better condition," argued General Omar Bradley. "It would not be to our advantage to bring in Russia now in the war by bombing China." He cautioned against "rushing headlong into a showdown before we are ready. . . ."

To rely solely on air bombing is utopian, argued Governor Dewey. Air bases must be held by troops. Wars, in the final analysis, are decided by those who hold the land. "And this has to be held by men, not by fictions," he declared in his speeches of February 12 and 25, 1951. The American bases in Britain or Morocco, in France or Italy or Germany, he said, would not be held by "the people who were murdered and decimated in two world wars." In other words, the United States cannot evade a land war, the building of a big land army, and the occupation of distant lands by American troops.

Some of the queries and replies during the great Senate debate seem almost incredible. MacArthur, for example, after admitting that the Korean war cannot be won and that Korean and Chinese pilots are the equal of U.S. pilots, was asked what the Russian air force would do in case the war was extended. He replied, "They could not stand up to an American offensive because they have not got the potential to bring over the gasoline." Senator MacMahon asked "how will you defend the American people in case of a general war which may bring atom bombs on American cities and casualties far outstripping those in Korea?" MacArthur replied, "this does not happen to be my theatre of responsibility. . . . You have to take risks."

In all earnestness, on May 18, 1951, Senators fired question after question at Acheson. "Why did *you* permit the Chinese revolution to take place? Couldn't a simple declaration have stopped it?" Or, "Why did the Chinese, who fought so well in Korea, refuse to fight for Chiang?" Typical were such interchanges as the following: "You are not giving up China, Mr. Acheson?" "Of course not, Mr. Senator." "Are you certain you will never relinquish it?" "Yes, sir." "And Formosa?" "Oh no, sir." "But didn't you once state that Formosa was not essential to our security?" "Well, I did once, but I since changed my mind."

This crisis in America's foreign policy reflected the *deepening of the general crisis of capitalism*. The debate as a whole exposed the incredible conceit and the monumental ignorance of many of America's policy-makers. It revealed the confusion and impotence of a class that wants to turn back the wheels of history, but knows not what makes them turn. None of the debaters grasped the nature of their deadlock or of the contradictions fracturing the imperialist system. One group saw the process of decomposition as a "dangerous overextension," the other as a historical mandate to distend still further.

Confronted with historically insoluble problems, each side criticized with great vehemence the quandaries and flounderings of the other. Driven by internal pressures and irrational hopes, each sought for a way of igniting the world without getting burned in the process. Bound hand and foot by the monstrous requirements of their trusts, they still hankered for freedom of action, for a choice of time and place. Knowing little and understanding less of modern history than of events in distant galaxies, they besought their generals to remake the past and to fix the status quo for them for at least a century or two.

The debate revealed that predominant sections of the American ruling class are guided by the view that a war with the Soviet Union is inevitable. Although the policies advocated by the two camps revealed differences in tactics, both agreed on the main thesis of gaining world domination

through a third World War. Most of the differences were related to the speed and timing of the anti-Soviet war. Bradley and others, observed the *New York Times*, "conceded that the difference between MacArthur and the administration could be narrowed down to a matter of timing."

"The course recommended by Wedemeyer [the bombing of China and issuance of an ultimatum to Russia]," declared the *Herald Tribune*, "has great emotional appeal to all of us. Its only defect is its timing. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have warned us that we cannot afford at this moment to risk provoking World War III. If we keep our defence effort going in high gear for another couple of years, we will be ready. . . . This strategy requires patience and persistent effort."

Operation Rattlesnake

Semi-officially, the Pentagon men began advancing their new blitzkrieg strategy for an atomic air war against the Soviet Union immediately after their notorious experiments on the population of Hiroshima on August 6, and that of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. This strategy went through various modifications, especially after the U.S. lost its atom-bomb monopoly. But it did not fully crystallize until the lessons of Korea became more plain. By that time, even those who initially opposed it became its enthusiastic adherents.

Today, this seemingly fantastic strategy dominates the overall planning of the Eisenhower administration. Since this strategy would have such ghastly consequences for America itself, many people refuse to believe that it has actually been adopted. To dispel this widespread scepticism, it will be necessary to trace in some detail the development of this last-ditch imperialist design.

The dropping of the atom bomb on Japan, wrote Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, physics Nobel Prize winner, "was not the

last act of World War II, but the first act of the cold war." Even Admiral William D. Leahy confessed that "the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in the war against Japan. . . . The scientists and others wanted to make this test [the outright killing of 176,000 men, women, and children—*H.D.M.*] because of the vast sums that had been spent on the project. Truman knew that and so did the other people involved."

From then on, various Washington-Wall Street spokesmen and practically all the big magazines and newspapers began to agitate for the destruction of the USSR through atom-bombing. In 1947, Paul H. Griffith, Assistant Secretary of Defence, urged Truman to order an atomic bomb dropped "some place over there." In the same year, George H. Earle, the former governor of Pennsylvania, declared, "One nice little bomb dropped on the Kremlin and the Russian people would fly to pieces with centrifugal force." "Previously," wrote Corliss Lamont, "Earle had ranted over the Town Meeting of the Air, 'We can and will wipe out every city, town and village in Russia.'"

On May 17, 1948, *Newsweek* was more specific. "Planes loaded with atom bombs . . . flying at more than 35,000 feet would seek to slip into Russia unnoticed. Their targets: first, Moscow—Moscow above all. Then the other large cities of European Russia—Kiev, Leningrad, Kharkov, Odessa. This means getting bases through combined air, sea and ground operations ever closer to Russia's heartland, then using the bases for sustained bombing and guided-missile attacks."

Various MacArthurites, in effect, asked the American people this question: Do you want a half dozen Koreas with millions of American casualties or an easy atomic war where most of you can watch the burning of foreign cities on your television sets?

On April 13, 1949, Congressman Clarence Cannon declared: "Through the signature of the Atlantic Pact we are in possession of these bases. All we need now are the planes to carry the bombs . . . to equip the soldiers of other

nations and have them send their boys so that we do not have to send our own. This is what the atom bomb enables the United States to do."

On August 26, 1950, Truman's Secretary of the Navy, Francis P. Matthews, stated: "To achieve world peace, we should be willing to pay the price of instituting a war. They would brand our programme as imperialist aggression. We could accept that slander with complacency. . . . We would become the first aggressors for peace." David Lawrence, commenting on Matthews' speech, asked, "Must the age-old forms of waiting for a declaration of war by an enemy still be accepted?" James Reston commented: "The speech by Mr. Matthews, a man always open to suggestion from his superiors, was clearly a trial balloon. The method of launching it was a favourite one of Mr. Matthews' political boss, Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defence, who has been selling the same doctrine of the preventive war in private conversations around Washington."

How to lead the American people into atomic carnage under the mask of tender-hearted longing for peace? * MacArthur outlined the method during the Senate hearings. Painting the horrors of modern war, he declared, "The last time I was there in Korea, it curdled my stomach. . . . We must establish a mechanism to carry out the will of the common people that war shall be non-existent. . . . War should be outlawed." Senator MacMahon asked him, "Now, General, have you any hope for us in finding the formula which will settle the whole matter?" MacArthur replied, "I tried to expound it yesterday, Senator; it is the abolition of war. . . . There is no halfway substitute. You, of all men, should know that, as the expert in atomic warfare. . . . I believe that that should be done. You spoke of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese people more than any other in the world understand what atomic warfare means. . . .

* "He kept us out of war" was the slogan behind which the American people, in 1917, were rallied to support the already warpledged President Wilson.

They counted their dead and buried them. . . . The losses, the great lessons the bomb has taught them, have been understood. . . . Take the moral leadership of the world and try something like it. . . . The first blow may well be the decisive one." He recommended "an air war that would cause famine and to sweeten it up with atom bombs." He was asked, "Suppose we got involved very deeply and things were going bad, do you think you would commit us to sending more people to the mainland of China?" He replied, "I don't think I would commit an iota, Senator, not an iota."

On November 28, 1951, Dulles put it this way: "We must not commit suicide by excessive militarism," that is, large ground armies. He proposed "having at whatever are the convenient places, the capacity to hit Russia's interior lines of communications with such disruptive power, that its highly centralized despotic state would fall apart."

Simultaneously *Collier's* presented a detailed outline of this Dulles policy in its special "War with Russia" issue. Although it carried the imprint of Pentagon advisers, many still tended to regard it with disbelief. But eight months later, *Collier's* outline became the official policy of the Eisenhower-led Republican Party.

At the Republican National Convention in Chicago in July 1952, Herbert Hoover, as well as other keynote speakers, received his biggest ovation when he referred to it. Hoover said that "the military strength of America does not lie today in great ground armies. Our genius lies in the invention and operation of great weapons." He scored some Pentagon men who still relied on the infantry. "I do not propose we retreat into our shell like a turtle," he said. "What I do propose is the deadly reprisal strategy of a rattlesnake." Although expressing disagreement on minor points, the leaders of the Democratic Party, including Adlai Stevenson, its presidential candidate at that time, agreed with the basic premises of the Republican "rattlesnake" programme.

Like MacArthur, Eisenhower spoke of the horrors and futility of modern war and placed the responsibility for it,

should it come, on "Soviet aggression." "The hunger for peace," he said, "is too great for any government to mock man's hopes with mere words, promises and gestures." His over-all formula for ending world tensions was to establish "throughout the world a peace that is true and total." Such a peace, he made clear in a speech on September 10, 1952, must be based on the "liberation" of the People's Democracies, China, and the Soviet Union.

Soon after taking over, Eisenhower declared he had inherited a "crazy quilt of promises, commitments and contracts" and that his aim was "to place military and economic logic into joint, strong harness." "Crazy quilt," obviously, stood for the complex dilemmas and contradictions of U.S. foreign policy and its failure to achieve its objectives. The cold war in Europe and the hot wars in Asia reached the point of diminishing returns. The plans for European armies, or for Asians to kill Asians, and the attempts to forge a united anti-Soviet war alliance, were badly frayed. Internally, economic crisis threatened in the midst of the armament boom. But the nearer their policies came to bankruptcy, the more U.S. ruling circles fastened upon the atomic-air war strategy. When the Eisenhower-Dulles team came to power, this strategy rapidly began to be translated into concrete projects.

The full adoption of the atomic air-war plan called for a total revision of military policy. An air-atomic war cannot be started unless strategic war industries are more or less protected from destruction by enemy retaliation. Arming, it was therefore decided, must be extended for a later than 1954 showdown. Thus, the Pentagon now speaks of the "long pull," of the "stretch-out" instead of the "short jerk."

The conclusions of the so-called Lincoln and Summer study groups greatly influenced the Eisenhower stretch-out programme. Both groups were composed of highly qualified scientists assembled by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to check their air-atomic war plans. According to the Alsops, their 1952 report to the President and the National Security

Council concluded that this country lies naked and open to Soviet atomic-air attack and that the Soviet atomic stockpile and strategic air force have the power to cripple and devastate the U.S.A. "Devastation," the scientists defined as "the extent of atomic destruction that would force the U.S. to surrender." "The Soviets may already be using a heavier, faster, longer range bomber than our own B-50. . . . These Soviet turbo-prop heavy bombers," remarked the Alsops, "would go pretty well to consternate the Pentagon and paralyze American policy." The problem, as they viewed it, is whether to go into an elaborate programme costing some \$20 billion "to make sure that this country will not be crippled and so can carry on the war."

Lloyd V. Berkner, special consultant for the State Department, explained this need for a longer preparatory stage by stating: "Because of the new offensive weapons, the U.S. has acquired a glass jaw and something must be done about that glass jaw."

On May 19, 1953, in an address to the nation, Eisenhower declared: "We are putting major emphasis on air power. . . . Almost 60 cents out of every dollar to be available for national defence next year will be devoted to air power and air defence."

Significantly, Pentagon spokesmen began to refer to earlier projects for building up a big army as "mere frills." On May 9, 1953, the Defence Secretary announced that various army training divisions would soon be closed. On June 12, 1953, the army announced plans to shut down seven army bases. In all, army officials said, thirty or so training facilities will be closed or reduced in size after July 1. On July 8, 1953, the Ordnance Corps announced that it was embarking on "gradual demobilization of the military hardware industry." The plans, called for "dismantling major defence plants." Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens disclosed that 9 out of the 14 plants now turning out tanks will be closed down. General Gruenther, Supreme Commander of Allied Troops in Europe, assured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "sparing use of ground

forces and heavy use of atomic weapons is the keynote of allied war plans." Walter Lippman characterized the doctrine of the new chiefs of staff as "along the line of American forces not to be inextricably engaged on the ground beyond the ocean."

But "the plan is to go ahead with no slackening of the giant new jet bomber programme," remarked *U.S. News and World Report*. It explained the "ammunition shortage," of which Van Fleet and other generals in Korea had complained by stating: "Amid these acute shortages, however, a great surplus exists in atomic bombs. . . . Vast effort is put into construction of big bombers and big bomber bases that play no part in the actual war of today. . . . The big effort, thus, is going into building up a force that might some day fight a war with Russia . . . on a striking force of bombers to hit the enemy in such a way that he can never recover."

The immense atomic-air preparations are made behind the mask of demagogic peace talk and under the cover of assuring the safety of American cities by electronic devices and guided missiles. The nature of the "long pull" war programme is also disguised as an effort to protect the country's "economic health." On May 6, 1953, Eisenhower declared, "Since it is impossible to forecast precisely the year and moment when the point of maximum military danger may occur [the unleashing of a new World War—*H.D.M.*] the only prudent course calls for a steady military build up. . . . To keep constantly growing in military strength which we can support indefinitely, we must avoid so rapid a military build up that we seriously dislocate our economies."

On January 12, 1954, John Foster Dulles summarized the new policy before the New York Council of Foreign Relations:

"It is not sound military strategy permanently to commit United States land forces to Asia to a degree that leaves us no strategic reserves.

"It is not sound economics, or good foreign policy, to

support permanently other countries; for in the long run, that creates as much ill will as good will.

"Also, it is not sound to become permanently committed to military expenditures so vast that they lead to 'practical bankruptcy.'

"At the April meeting of the N.A.T.O. council, the United States put forward a new concept, now known as that of the 'long haul.'

"We found, at the council of last December, that there was general acceptance of the 'long haul' concept, and recognition that it better served the probable needs than an effort to create full defensive land strength at a ruinous price.

"But before military planning could be changed, the President and his advisers, as represented by the National Security Council, had to make some basic policy decisions. This has been done. The basic decision was to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing.

"If we persist in the course I outline we shall confront dictatorship with a task that is, in the long run, beyond its strength."

The switch to atomic-air war strategy also "happens" to coincide with the drive of the super-trusts for still higher profits. The production of ordinary ammunition, the monopolies discovered, yields a lower rate of profit than experimentation, research, and production of the super-weapons. "Radar equipment, guided missiles and strategic air command weapons," Hanson Baldwin reported, "are to be concentrated in a few factories working at close to capacity." Concentration, moreover, will make it easier to place some strategic war industries underground. "America," said Civil Defence Administrator Val Peterson, "must go underground or out to the Rockies."

Various supporters of the Eisenhower-Dulles "long pull" programme have praised it, because "it is also aimed at subjecting the Communist countries to internal strains."

The core of this programme, however, is *the launching of a Korea type of war on a global scale*—with a minimum of U.S. ground troops.

Washington's top-level military planners realize that the Soviet Union cannot be conquered and that ordinary bullets cannot keep the four-fifths of humanity inhabiting Europe and Asia from altering their social systems. What they are aiming at, therefore, is to stop the wheels of life itself from turning by inflicting large-scale death and devastation with hydrogen bombs, capable of destroying whole cities in a flash.

A war leading to immense destruction, they hope, will not only slow the material growth of the Socialist countries but bring to a dead stop the advance to Socialism in other countries. It will freeze the status quo. It will "convince" humanity that henceforth those countries taking the road to socialism will be punished by a war of annihilation.

In an unusually frank article, entitled "Atomic Weapons and American Foreign Policy," J. Robert Oppenheimer, the Pentagon's top atomic-bomb builder, defined U.S. objectives as follows: "We have made our decision to push our stockpiles and the power of our weapons. We have from the first maintained that we should be free to use these weapons; and it is generally known we plan to use them. It is also generally known that one ingredient of this plan is a rather rigid commitment to their use in a very massive, initial, unremitting strategic assault on the enemy."

This massive assault, some Pentagon leaders admit, holds out no guarantee of victory. "Operation Strangle," having failed in the narrow corridor of North Korea, can accomplish nothing decisive over the millions of square miles from Canton to the Elbe. Moreover, it is based on the irrational assumption that the United States will remain an unassailable fortress. But it is their hope that a more massive "Operation Killer," if kept up long enough, will pay off; that it will lead, if not to the actual destruction of world socialism, at least to its setback to a point where Wall Street could dictate peace terms.

Wall Street's World War III plans, its talk of "disengagement on the ground," and of "less emphasis on the foot soldier," reflects the historic fact that imperialism is losing mastery of the earth and is pinning its last hopes on ruling it from the sky.

Kindling Fuses and Suicide Squads

The atomic-air war programme is reconciled to the eventual abandonment and destruction of West European and any other bases that could not be held in case of war. James Burnham, who assumes the role of adviser and major strategist of this crusade, declared: "Decisive action by America to destroy Communist power is to come regardless of the reluctance or opposition of the other members of the Atlantic coalition."

There is evidence that Pentagon men already regard the Western allies as more of a liability than an asset and that their ultimate sacrifice ought to be taken for granted. This point of view formed the main content of the ultra-secret Admiral Fechteler-Pentagon report. According to *Le Monde*, which published that document on May 9, 1952, the report was intercepted by the British Secret Service after it had been submitted to the U.S. National Security Council.* The basic premises of the Fechteler report were: that a war before 1960 is inevitable; that the U.S. Army, together with its allies, could hold their ground in Western Europe for no more than a few days after the war's start; that Britain, France and Germany would have to be sacrificed as expendables; that the United States would have to

* Washington strenuously denied the authenticity of the report, but admitted that its main points were contained in an article published in the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings by Commander Talerico of the U.S. Naval Staff. "The American Military," reported Alexander Werth, "are naturally anxious that Europe should not know anything about the report." (*The Nation*, May 31, 1952.)

fight the war from behind the Pyrenees and from the Mediterranean; and since the U.S. would have to pursue a scorched-earth policy of razing the cities and industries of Europe, "it would be far better from the standpoint of U.S. strategy if Europe did not exist."

Washington no longer views with alarm the stalling of its great NATO machinery and the toppling of its European Army project. Its basic strategy no longer revolves around arming more divisions. Following the U.S. lead, the eleventh NATO Council meeting in April 1953 decided to shelve the idea of a critical year by which specified defence preparations had to be completed. The paper goal of 50 divisions was scrapped. Churchill changed his tune once more and spoke of less dependence on big armies and more on atomic warfare, rockets, and guided missiles.

All this explains Washington's peace and disarmament offers which boil down to: "Let's reduce the number of our tanks, armoured divisions, etc. But let us not discuss the question of outlawing the production of atom bombs and hydrogen bombs and the removal of the atomic-air threat." In short, "please don't upset our timetable for fighting our kind of war...."

Washington's turn toward atomic-air strategy was followed by some cuts in the appropriations for its West European allies. But it still pours billions into strengthening its European war bases and tightening its war alliances. But why arm satellites one intends to sacrifice?

In the first place, because Wall Street's drive for world domination is taking place in the terminal epoch of imperialism: As a result, Washington's entire programme is not only more ruthlessly aggressive, but also more quixotic, more recklessly adventurist, and more wildly catastrophic than that of any previous imperialist regime. The armament programme has long passed the stage of reasoned evaluation of the "useful" employment of arms. For the profit interests of the munition kings, it actually does not matter whether the arms are shipped to Franco or Chiang or dumped in the ocean.

Second, while calculating upon sacrificing its allies the U.S. must prop them up with arms and promises in order to be able to use them as tools for *provoking and kindling* the war.

The problem of how to provoke a war with a power which refuses to "come out and fight" despite flagrant incitation is rather difficult. In the case of the United States and the USSR, it is all the more intricate because Soviet planes, troops, or warships never move to places where their presence would provide the U.S. military with even the faintest pretext for war. The United States moved its war machine 6,000 miles, to the very Soviet frontier and attacked various nearby targets, but the Soviet forces remained calmly on their side of the border.

Of course, Washington's monotonous charge of "Soviet aggression" would seem to indicate that it is getting ready to launch the war in classic Hitler fashion—by pointing to Soviet defence measures and striking in the name of "defence against aggression." This, however, is much less feasible today than it was for Nazi Germany. When it attacked the Soviet Union, World War II was already well advanced. Also, under present conditions, a preventive war would lead to the total isolation of the United States. Even more, Wall Street fears the reaction of the American people. Some reason must be given if the people are to endure the tremendous sacrifices. Clearly, Wall Street would rather not start a preventive war if it can help it.

Some members of the American oligarchy hoped that the best way to embroil the USSR in a war was through its back door in Asia. But, having met up with the Korean and Chinese forces on the way, they decided that the European route was still the most direct. But here, too, formidable difficulties present themselves. The chief obstacle is the lack of kindling wood to start the fire—the lack of ruling circles strong enough to start a war in Europe on their own behalf.

After the First World War, the antagonisms and rivalries among the European imperialists were sharp and open.

Yet their tacit agreement to employ Hitler Germany to unleash another war against the Soviet Union was a firm one. Today, because of American domination, their conflicts are frequently less obvious. But they are no longer solidly agreed on provoking another war against the USSR. The West European powers would like to see both the United States and USSR weaken each other in a war, provided they can play the role of seconds in the duel (as Turkey did with Germany during World War II).

Certain sections of the European bourgeoisie, especially those whose financial stakes are no longer in their homelands but in the U.S.A., Africa, or Latin America, tend to favour more reckless action. But on the whole, the West European capitalists realize that, because of the destructiveness of modern war, the Elbe, the Rhone, or even the English Channel do not offer them any protection. Many of them have frankly reminded Washington that Korea suffices for their edification.

Noting the quaking knees of their staunch allies, such Wall Street advisers as Walter Lippmann, Hanson Baldwin, and others have counselled their bosses to tone down their glorification of atomic-bomb warfare. "Our leaders talk of, act and think almost exclusively in terms of military crisis and the inevitability of war," complained Hanson Baldwin. "Most of our talking and thinking is done in terms of atomic strategy. We are too often identified with the war-mongers and aggressors. Russia," he suggested, "should be defeated in a limited war."

But the European ruling circles are not fooled about Washington's intentions. The tone of their semi-official declarations resembles that of *Le Monde*, which addressed itself to Washington: "Don't delude yourself on the aid you will receive from the peoples of Europe in your war plans. The people won't keep the government promises." Customarily, this organ of French big business is not the voice of the people. Its statement, therefore, speaks for French ruling circles who, like their British, Belgian, and Italian counterparts, have notified Washington that they will not

act as provokers of a conflict with Europe as its arena. They are tending to some form of neutrality.

There are few West European groups which can be said to support war against the Soviet Union *regardless* of consequences. They consist mostly of restive Hitlerie revanchists, war criminals, various denationalized and declassed groupings (such as East European refugee capitalists and landlords, some old white Guardists, some Social-Democrats, and Trotskyite remnants). Wall Street relies on these elements to act as tools for provoking a war. They are most suitable, first, because their hatred of the Soviet Union is literally pathological, and second, because they have nothing to lose from a third World War. These suicide squads are centred mainly around Bonn.

Washington anticipates that its stepped-up rearmament of the Ruhr war criminals may in itself compel the Soviet Union to take some action. The rearming of a gangster who thrice burned one's home and murdered one's family, and then parading him before one's house to boast that he will do it again—would certainly call for some action. An article by Drew Middleton in the *New York Times* put it this way: "The amount of damage and death caused in the Soviet Union in the last war by the Germans . . . was on a scale greater than anything seen in France, Germany or Belgium." Hence, "There are some who believe that *German rearmament itself will prompt a Soviet attack.*" (Emphasis mine.—H.D.M.)

Indeed, the USSR has warned more than once that it will not tolerate the large-scale rearming of Western Germany. As the private papers of Harry Hopkins revealed, the Soviets at Yalta and Potsdam yielded on many points, but not on the necessity of extirpating the menace of imperialist, aggressive German militarism. Therefore, its recreation, as former Air Chief C. A. Spaatz and others admitted, "is more of a provocation to a third World War than the bombing of China and Manchuria." More of a provocation because it violates a dozen sacred agreements, menaces the security of the strongest European power, and

is the foulest betrayal of all that the Soviet and European peoples bled for in two World Wars.

The reactivation of the fascist assassins was only the prelude to a series of other provocations. The Bonn men have already been ordered to begin their spadework. With the Red Army and air force only a short distance away, Bonn minister Jacob Kaiser brazenly stated that "Prague is an older German city than Berlin" and that "the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic is not founded on right." Such declarations are not of local manufacture. The Bonn men have been assigned the function of serving as the Chiangs and Syngman Rhees of Europe.

Those still funnelling hundreds of millions to Chiang's military outfit have no illusions about its capacity to conquer and part of China's mainland or even establishing a beachhead without being wiped out. As for Western Germany, Pentagon military experts acknowledged that it would be destroyed in an anti-Soviet war. The same is true of the air bases Washington is constructing hard on the Soviet borders—in case of war they would become untenable.

This is likewise true of the U.S. cold-war investments in West Berlin. Surrounded as it is by Soviet armed forces, the vast U.S. expenditures there seem utterly senseless. However, the illegal attempt to create an anti-Soviet fascist stronghold in the heart of the Soviet zone serves as an incomparable means for kindling the war. Indeed, it affords the U.S. military endless opportunities to organize various cloak-and-dagger operations in East Berlin (plus air corridor violations, etc.)

Wall Street's grand strategy for provoking a war against the Soviet Union can be outlined as follows :

1. To reject agreement for the immediate outlawing of atom-bomb warfare, the destruction of atom-bomb stock-piles, and the immediate cessation of atom and hydrogen-bomb production; to keep Germany divided at all costs and rebuff Soviet proposals for the withdrawal of the Soviet,

American, British, and French armed forces from Germany to permit the establishment of a unified, democratic, peace-oriented German state.

2. To reinforce its European and Asian suicide squads by continuing to pile up armaments, and by various "one for all and all for one" pacts. These spearheads, it must be remembered, call for huge and intricate mechanisms in the rear to set them off. For even these desperate elements are unwilling to act unless bound by agreements tying the others to the same gamble. Hence, the necessity for military alliances like the NATO and SEADO chains which commit the member countries to wars which may not be of their own making. In short, the whole elaborate system is designed to prevent the localization of any conflict and to make its spread into a world conflagration mandatory and automatic.

3. To keep threatening the USSR with the imminence of atomic-bomb attacks, to goad it with countless provocations, and raise tensions to the kindling point.

Above all, to keep on ringing the USSR with bomber bases and stepping up West German rearmament to the point where it will be compelled to take strong counter measures which could then be cited as evidence of "Soviet aggression" and employed as the reason for launching a war against it.

4. As a last resort, to ignite a series of grave incidents, employing Bonn S.S. men or East European fascists (supplied with Hungarian, Polish, Czechoslovak, or Soviet planes, weapons, and uniforms) to attack designated American or West German military depots. Such was the method Hitler employed on September 1, 1939, at Gliwice to declare Poland the aggressor.

5. To follow this with a Washington ultimatum, wrapped in peace terms, but tantamount to a declaration of war. Soviet proposals to negotiate, or non-compliance with the terms of the ultimatum, would then be headlined as "Soviets Ready to Strike."

These final steps, however, are not to be taken until

U.S. offensive and defensive air-atomic weapons have reached the level which the Pentagon considers sufficient for carrying on a war of destruction against all Europe and Asia.

Will They Reason?

It would seem that unless the American imperialists go berserk, stark Forrestal-mad, they will halt at the edge of their self-imposed doom. The cooler heads among them may still be in a position to reconsider before plunging into the all-or-nothing venture. Even the most reckless gamblers often heed warnings or predictions; and even from those whose views they impugn. However great their hatred of communism, the imperialists must admit the correctness of Stalin's prediction in 1926 that a Second World War would cost world capitalism much dearer than the first. All during the thirties he issued a number of similar warnings. On January 26, 1934, he told the Western powers that, if they should unleash such a war, "let not messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if some of the governments so near and dear to them, which today rule happily, 'by the grace of God,' are missing on the morrow of such a war." The masters who ruled over 600 million people did actually disappear.

The American imperialists may heed more recent warnings. "Those who believe they can gain victory through atom bombs are mistaken," declared Molotov. "As regards bombs, it is the U.S. which is powerless." Vyshinsky warned that "The USSR, if it should need it, will have plenty of atom bombs and the means of delivering them." The Wall Street men should note that Soviet leaders are not given to vain boasting.

Pentagon leaders, suggested the Soviet commentator, L. Leonov, ought to re-examine their hopes of intimidating the Soviet peoples with threats of superior weapons by recalling Leningrad: will men and women who lived through

900 days of incessant artillery and aviation bombardment on four ounces of bread a day be frightened by a bigger bomb? The Soviet people, he warned, "are aware of every hostile air base from which the range of our cities has been taken; they hear the ravings that our life and culture be crushed, blotted out, burned to the ground and our women, children and old folks murdered. Our people know a good deal more but they smile and keep silent, like those other giants who also keep silent up to a moment."

Another World War, in the words of Maxim Gorky might well "become the last blow on the skull of capitalism and send it into the grave which has been quite timely dug for it by history."

The truth is the U.S. cannot win any kind of war against the socialist countries. In Europe, in Africa, in Asia, U.S. lines and bases would be surrounded by partisan and resistance movements many times more powerful than ones that sent the Nazi forces reeling. Revolutionary war would burst forth in all the colonial and dependent countries. From the 800 million inhabitants of the socialist countries, an inexhaustible torrent of forces would stream overland and by air in all directions. They would quickly neutralize most, if not all the U.S. air bases in Western Europe, the Middle East, Spain, and North Africa.

The Pentagon calculations of military strength, based on superior U.S. steel or oil production, are wholly misleading. (Hitler had at his disposal two and a half times the steel production of the USSR.) For a *war of aggression*, the United States would need more than five times the military and industrial strength it actually possesses in order to confront the Soviet power on any basis of equality. Not only can the United States no longer attain that kind of industrial superiority, but its present predominance is being whittled down daily by the rapid industrial advance of the USSR and its allies.

Even more hollow are Pentagon calculations on numerical atom- and hydrogen-bomb superiority. A lead of a

hundred bombs may be important if the other side has only a few bombs. But a superiority of a thousand is of no consequence if the other side too counts its bomb output in thousands. Indeed, bombs capable of wiping out ports and landing sites, make the U.S. logistical problem—the reinforcement and supply of troops holding bases in Europe and other outlying regions—practically insoluble.

As for the atom-bombing of industrial centres, all experts agree that the United States is far more vulnerable than either the USSR or China. First, because the Anglo-American general staffs are in the dark about the precise location of many new Soviet industrial centres, its aluminium, airplane, atomic and other production centres, dispersed over the vast regions of Siberia. Ringed as they are by numerous defense areas, their discovery now by enemy aerial surveyors is practically impossible. And even well-known Soviet industries are far more dispersed than those in the U.S.A.

Indeed, it can be shown that the United States would lose more than it would gain by using the atom-bomb or hydrogen-bomb. Stephen White expressed this well when he wrote, "Two grains of sand in the works will ruin a fine watch ... America is like a watch ... A few bombs at vulnerable spots could create chaos. Russia is like a sundial ... To put it out of commission, you must take an axe to it." The United States can never have that kind of axe, i.e., a land army to reach the interior of the Eurasian continent. Years ago, Sir Holford Mackinder called it the world's invulnerable heartland. It is a thousand times more invulnerable today.

For the time being, Washington still faces the problem of overcoming the various obstacles which block its complex conspiracy. Aside from everything else, all the extraordinary war provocations launched against the USSR during the past six years have bounced back from it as from a granite rock. This attests to the immensity of Soviet strength, the titanic scope of its peace effort, as well as the imperialists' inability to dent it.

Driven as they are by violent pressures within their system, the war incendiaries will certainly prove incapable of evaluating objective world conditions around them. They are bound to make grave errors in tactics and strategy. These may upset their plans, even while they are on the road to war. Washington foreign policy has already lost all flexibility. It has become irascibly rigid and brittle. It fears to yield even a single point lest it expose the entire war policy to collapse. Having placed itself in a position where its claims and demands are becoming more unreal and fantastic, Washington is bound to be outmanoeuvred by the sagacity and flexibility of Soviet policy, which fully corresponds to the needs of mankind.

"With all the solemnity I can bring to bear on you," Eisenhower told the American people, "I say to you that the conscience of America will never know ease until these peoples ... of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania ... of our blood and our kin are liberated." *Pravda* commented: "We do not think that Eisenhower has already reached the condition that the late U.S. Secretary Forrestal was in, but he provides a fine example of what Forrestal looked like before jumping from the window of the insane asylum."

Pravda quoted a humorous ditty, once enjoyed by the Russian people. "'And now in martial beat, Henry John Palmerston would defeat Russia on the map by poking his finger thereon.'" "Eisenhower's forefinger is very firm and formidable," *Pravda* declared, "but the effect is comical all the same. And when that American warrior declares majestically, 'We must tell the Soviets with cold finality ...' one wants first of all to tell him, 'Take a drink of cold water, Ike, and come to your senses.'"

But will sanity prevail? Will a ruling class whose cunning war provocations are being repulsed and checkmated retain its mental balance? Will it reason? Can one rely on ruling class intelligence?

Chapter XI

Forrestalism : The Mental Pattern of America's Rulers

WHEN DEALING with any given historical period, bourgeois writers often ascribe its major events to the personal traits of its leaders. But the science of Marxism demonstrated long ago that the mentality of leaders is generally shaped by the class they represent and the historical tasks it imposes upon them, rather than the other way round. More often than not, we find that "wise and upright" sovereigns were more abundant during the rise or at the crest of a given social order and that "corrupt, confused, or semi-rational" ones ruled during its period of decay or downfall.

"A small, stubborn donkey" and "the world's biggest imbecile"—this was the way General Stilwell characterized Chiang Kai-shek after observing him at close range. The same kind of mental and character traits were reported of the last Bourbons, Romanovs, Savoyes and Hohenzollerns.

Strictly speaking, however, it is not lack of planning or lack of intelligence as such which make the actions of dying ruling classes so ludicrous or irrational. It is rather their futile attempt to employ reason for the purpose of realizing impossible or irrational ends which ultimately turns them into imbeciles or donkeys. The desperate pursuit of aims which can no longer be realized historically, is generally typical of all ruling classes heading toward bankruptcy and dissolution.

Even critical, realistic intellects cannot always distinguish the possible from the impossible. This is far more the case of those chained to a narrow frame of reference.

Their reasoning is often marked by a woeful lack of such differentiation and especially in regard to matters of political, historical import.

When General Marshall, for example, was asked whether the Soviets had the atom bomb, he replied, "I know little beyond what I have been reading in the press," and added, "It takes ten thousand subcontractors to build the plants that produce the bomb. . . . Well, I don't think they have got four thousand subcontractors or two thousand in all of Soviet Russia, and with the skills that are required." Of course, General Marshall might have been better informed had he perused some Soviet scientific journals. But then his frame of reference would probably have compelled him to dismiss what he read as "Communist propaganda."

Alienation from Reality

In general, views and ideas supported and propagated by a dying ruling class may be classified under two headings : first, ideas and notions manufactured by the oligarchy or its servants, which they use for perpetuating class rule while fully conscious of their utter falsehood. Second, false ideas and distorted views of reality which reflect not only the needs but also the limitations, the narrow horizon of the dominant class. It is obviously unconscious of its incapacity to comprehend certain phenomena.

False and distorted views of reality on the part of the bourgeois and its ideologists also mirror the anarchy and contradictions of capitalist society. Ruling class inability to mould events according to its desires and the frequent divergence between what it plans and what actually results magnifies the distortion of reality in the bourgeois mind.

The late John Dewey, the leading exponent of pragmatism, gloomily observed : "Not even the most far-seeing of men could have predicted, no longer than 50 years ago, the course events have taken. The expectations that were entertained by men of generous outlook are in fact chiefly notable in that the actual course of events has moved in the

opposite direction." This is undeniable. Bourgeois ideologists are incapable of foreseeing the course of events, chiefly because present-day historical development contradicts their class interests. And so their political errors and miscalculations multiply.

The inability of the bourgeoisie to plan on a social, historical scale—like its inability to appraise and forecast coming events—alienates it even further from reality. On this question, Engels wrote: "That which is willed happens but rarely; in the majority of instances the numerous desired ends cross and conflict with one another, or these ends themselves are from the outset incapable of realization or the means of attaining them are insufficient." Hence, "The ends of the actions are intended but the results which actually follow from these actions are not intended: or when they do seem to correspond to the end intended, they ultimately have consequences quite other than those intended."

Thus, even during relatively normal periods, members of an oppressor class, or their ideologists, are generally blind to the significance and direction of social events; certain things escape their understanding because their interests are in conflict with those of the movers and creators of historical events—the people. Exercising power by virtue of rule over *things* (money, land, mines, factories, etc.), they also tend to regard people as commodities or ciphers.

In times of crisis, their capacity to feel or understand the people's needs and desires shrinks still further. The *New York Times*, for example, recently wrote that Syngman Rhee's "cabinet fight was brought about mainly because South Korean troops and police massacred thousands of Koreans. But the average Korean" it commented, "is probably quite indifferent to the entire matter, for his own way of life will not change no matter who governs." Thomas E. Dewey, reporting on his visit in Korea, declared before a Waldorf-Astoria crowd, "The finest morale in Korea, ladies and gentlemen, was in the hospitals. ... There was no man there who did not have serious chest wounds. ...

However, not one man, not one man in the entire ward said anything to me other than 'swell' or 'fine.' "

A decayed oligarchy usually gasps in surprise and incomprehension when "things" begin moving, or when seemingly foolproof plans are defeated by the people's resistance. For example, when the West African Convention People's Party of the Gold Coast swept the polls in February 1951, dazed British colonial officials declared: "The whole business appears fantastic. . . . The election was the latest technique of the polit-bureau allying itself with the Juju of darkest Africa." On visiting Iran in the spring of 1951, Joseph Alsop concluded that "The country is being gnawed to death by a headless worm—by the Tudeh Party." "The Guatemalan cancer is dangerous. It must not spread," declared State department officials. Such are the common images in the imperialist mind of a people's struggle against misery and oppression.

In the beginning, the bourgeoisie regarded the working class movement itself as a "haunting spectre," to use the words of Marx and Engels. It attempted by various means to exorcise this ghost, to elude the strange shadow pursuing it. But in its ascending period, the bourgeois could still afford to speak the language of reason, defining its overall aims and objectives even in humanist terms. As the spectre became an undeniable, real social force, as the workers' movements grew more powerful, reason became a luxury capitalism could no longer afford. It then had to search for ways and means of falsifying this objective historical reality, above all the reality of social change and revolution.

During the period of the general crisis of capitalism, these ruling class traits have become much more pronounced. The gap between objective reality and the state of mind of the ruling class keeps on widening. In the process its field of vision shrinks to a point where certain aspects of concrete reality become blurred and unreal. Thus, up to a point, the Mussolinis, Chamberlains, Hitlers, Laval, Forrestals, MacArthurs, Dulleses, and Chiangs reason and even act shrewdly. Beyond it, conditioned by their unreal

premises or incurable class prejudices, they go berserk. "Whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad," wrote Euripides, basing himself on precisely this kind of experience.

No ruling class ever acknowledged the justice or inevitability of its downfall. Practically all the people's hangmen believe until the end that they are being liquidated because of some strange plot, accident, court betrayal, or the people's "ingratitude." History, it seems to them and to their class, is committing some unpardonable error by throwing them on its dunghheap.

Thirty-six years have passed since the October Revolution, but the world bourgeoisie is still incapable of grasping its significance. Capitalist spokesmen still regard it as an enigma, a sort of unnatural catastrophe or historical accident. In the House of Representatives, Republican Congressman Jackson of California declared, "Two Russian emigrés, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, sat down together in a Paris attic to draft a blueprint for world domination. Their blueprint was the *Communist Manifesto*."

According to Walter Lippmann, "The basic prophecy of Marx has been disproven because it was not the internal contradictions of capitalist society as taught by Marx and Lenin which brought about the Russian and Chinese revolutions," but "the two World Wars," and because, as he alleges, "The German general staff sent Lenin from Zurich to St. Petersburg to organize a coup d'état." Thus, class prejudice has blinded this authoritative commentator to the most elementary facts related to his argument. He simply refuses to recognize that Marx and Lenin presented a scientific analysis of the capitalist contradictions which led to the First and Second World Wars, that they clearly predicted the era of wars and revolutions, and that the course taken by the 1917 revolution had been forged by scientific Marxism-Leninism since 1905.*

* The "course taken," but not the conditions which gave birth to the revolutionary situation.

Ignorant of the strength of people's revolutionary movements, the imperialists have never doubted that these could be liquidated in short order. When their plans fail, they mobilize various sorcerers and horoscope readers, parading as political commentators, to predict the rapid downfall of the revolution.

Who can enumerate all the monstrous lies and stupidities, all the ludicrous prophecies of capitalist scribblers concerning "Communist Russia" in the past 36 years? Many former tsarist "courtiers" have long since wisely retired as uniformed doormen in Hollywood cafés, but the imperialists are still unreconciled. Paul G. Hoffman, former Marshall Plan chief, recently asked: "Is there any possibility today that the Soviet government can be pushed out of power? The cold war plus a hot war might do it, but I am confident that the downfall of the present regime is inherent in its very structure." Hoffman assured his readers that this opinion was shared by MacArthur, Dulles, and "some foreign minister whose name I cannot disclose."

Basing himself on the law discovered by Lenin of the uneven development of capitalism, Stalin, 28 years ago, outlined and predicted the coming of the Chinese revolution. In 1925 he wrote: "The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are inestimable. They have not yet made themselves properly felt, but they will make themselves felt in the future. The rulers of the East and of the West who do not see these forces and who do not evaluate them properly, will suffer greatly for this." In 1927 he wrote: "In China it (the anti-imperialist revolution) must adopt a profoundly popular and distinctly national character, and must extend step by step until it reaches a desperate battle with imperialism, shaking the very foundations of imperialism throughout the world." His extensive analysis also forecast the great role the Chinese peasantry would play in moulding the revolution.

Again, even after the historical event, the imperialists are still incapable of comprehending it. Following the victory of the Chinese revolution, the capitalist savants and

soothsayers arose one morning in surprise, asking: "Who killed cock robin?" For, according to the calculations of Washington's "top intelligence," the 475 million people of China should have remained frozen in their tracks. Somebody in Washington overslept the morning the Communists took over. This was the almost unanimous explanation of the Wall Street court astrologers.

Millions of words to this effect poured forth in the confusion that reigned among the imperialists after China's invincible millions had straightened their backs and taken the road to socialism. To the fleas, the earthquake was plainly illegal.

Lies Compounded upon Delusions

The decay of ruling class reasoning, like the dissolution of an outmoded social order, is marked off by a series of phases. At first, bourgeois thinking becomes marked by a tendency and then a determined effort to ignore the borderline separating fact from fiction, myth from reality. Later on, it begins to accept various falsehoods as valid truths, through sheer habit and constant repetition. But, as events move forward and contradictions multiply, the ruling class ideology turns into a morass of unrelated facts, myths and incoherencies. Its spokesmen then attempt simply to deny or conceal the unfolding of certain events, by twisting words or phrases (for example, labelling slavery freedom and vice versa).

Until 1943, the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, organ of the Swiss bankers, continued to deny the existence of Lenin-grad by referring to it as St. Petersburg. Similarly, the American press lords, waiting for the New China to turn into a phantom, continued to identify the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek in the U.N. with China proper, while referring to the real leaders of China simply as "red bandits."

During the general crisis of capitalism, the hypocrisies

and falsehoods of its spokesmen grow ever more complex. Compelled to cover all life and history with myths, they must keep gluing one set of lies on top of another. As a result, the chasm between imperialist characterizations and existing reality becomes harder and harder to bridge. The bourgeoisie has to claim that Communism is "anti-human," but that it is gaining the adherence of millions at the same time; that it is a "crackpot theory," but that it is winning the minds of scholars and intellectuals; that the Soviet Union will collapse, but is becoming an ever more formidable power; that its people are starved and exploited, but that their progress grows by leaps and bounds—in short, that capitalism is superior, but that it is being overtaken by socialism.

In its crucial stage imperialism abandons all pretense to coherence or logic. Headlines and statements succeed one another, each contradicting the one before and each more brazenly hypocritical. Truman declaimed: "Nobody, I said nobody is going to profit in this emergency out of this defense effort." But in the next column, a news story revealed: "Post Korea defense orders raise company profits to highest level in history." "In the last war we had seven million killers and another seven million to back them up," declared U.S. Selective Service Chief L. B. Hershey. "But the killers are old now—32 or 33. Most of them are used up, burned out." Compare this with the following from George F. Kennan: "The U.S. must help the instinct for a healthier, less morbid and more interesting life to assert itself in Russia." After describing in glowing terms the soaking of Korean towns and villages with napalm bombs on page two, the *New York Times* appealed on its editorial page: "There are little hands in Korea that will be blue with cold tonight. There will be little bare legs soaked with the driving rain. The pennies left over after we pay the sales tax will provide them one meal."

When Hitler's Wehrmacht was smashed at Stalingrad, Goebbels wrote, "The entire world can now see that the Fuehrer was right when he warned of the Communist

danger to Western civilization." When MacArthur's incendiaries were routed at the Yalu, the *New York Times* wailed, "This tears to shreds the fallacy that the Chinese Communists have merely been waiting for an opportunity to establish peace and friendship." With the calm nonchalance of the advanced schizophrenic, its editorial writer scribbled, "*The Soviet Union, because of its fantastic views on what constitutes aggression, might misinterpret our bombing of China as an act of aggression and justify rendering assistance to China.*" [Emphasis mine.—H.D.M.]

Hypocrisy mounts to the point where it is impossible to distinguish it from downright idiocy. Indeed, some of the "off-the-record" talk of Pentagon generals, State Department officials, and Congressmen would indicate that many of them have become the victims of their own lies and comic book phantasies.

"Buy off the Chinese Communists," advised Raymond Moley. "If corruption prevailed in Chiang Kai-shek China, is there any reason to believe that Mao's leaders are above material considerations in what is for us a necessary and good cause?" he asked, adding, "We cannot afford to neglect such an obvious and relatively inexpensive means of disrupting the enemy." But the president of the American Psychiatric Association, George S. Stevenson, counselled, "The U.S. should employ psychiatrists to listen in on the conferences between diplomats," because "they know of non-verbal signs that reveal attitudes."

Although world maps fill the pages of the globe-enamoured Wall Street organs, Washington policy-makers often have difficulty in locating their alleged "danger spots." The threat seems to come even from areas whose name and location are unknown to them. George H. T. Kimble, director of the National Geographical Society, declared that "out of 500 people in Washington, not one knew where Azerbaidzhan was. How," he asked, "can we make war on Azerbaidzhan if most of us do not know where it is?" Senator Wiley recommended: "The Foreign Relations Committee must be divided up into segments so that the

various segments would have portions of the globe that we might get acquainted with."

Manic-Depressive and Paranoid Tendencies

Although incapable of realizing why, some of the imperialists evidently feel they are approaching the climactic phase of their system's existence, the verdict already decreed by history. They sense a threat, but cannot clearly identify its nature. Thus, Arthur Krock, *New York Times* analyst, wrote, "There is acceptance in our government, as well as among the people, *that the U.S. is in danger*. But no clear opinion exists on two vital points—*what kind of danger it is, and when it will become critical*." [Emphasis mine.—H.D.M.]

One monopoly group insists America's last line of defence is on the Yalu river, another in the hills of Formosa, a third on the peaks of the Himalayas, a fourth maintains it is on the Don, Elbe, Danube, and Yangtse rivers, a fifth on the Pyrenees and Atlas Mountains. To play safe, A. Johnson, Jr., a State Department official, declared that "Thirty-one countries are now considered by us to be areas of critical concern."

Coca-Cola kings demand American rule over the world's warm climate areas. Butter and cheese merchants want Switzerland and Holland. Whisky and textile men clamour for the hide of England and Japan. Rubber and tin barons lunge for all of Southeast Asia. Anaconda, Guggenheim, and the Rockefellers pant for the mines and resources of Africa. Hollywood and the magazine chains yearn for all the world's kiosks and film outlets. The oil, steel, and chemical trusts want nothing less than the labour and raw materials of the entire planet.

While the bankers and generals roar for bigger bombs and armies, their puppet twirls the globe, squeaking "freedom," "democracy," "liberty." Some proclaim their undying

love for Chiang, others for the Zaibatsus of Japan. All of them peddle the charms of the Bonn Nazis. Yet some also see the last hope of "Western civilization" and "our way of life" in Syngman Rhee, Franco, Bao Dai, and the Shah of Iran.

On the whole, the American ruling class presents a variegated and contradictory picture. It is drunk with power, yet panic-stricken; feverishly tense with activity, yet paralyzed in fixed grooves of behaviour; shrewd and calculating, yet incapable of grasping some of the most elementary facts about the modern world.

Subjectively, America's rulers feel themselves world potentates already. Texas oil men, Pennsylvania, Ohio, steel and rubber barons, New York bankers see pashas, premiers, princes, dukes, former and still ruling kings and queens praying at the gates of their bank cathedrals, anxious to follow orders. They have come to believe that nothing can resist their wills and plans. Yet for all that, they are haunted by a terrifying feeling that the foundations of their structure are somehow being eroded and washed away. Puppets sell their countries' resources, but the people cry, "Down with Yankee imperialism." For the big capitalists, all this is symbolized by one word—Moscow. The obvious solution, they conclude, is to obliterate it.

The men of the trusts rush to their death-scientists, demanding: "Never mind the cost; we are in a great hurry. ... Make the biggest bomb to wipe Communism off the earth." They prod them daily on the progress of their work, gloating in reveries of mass extermination and world rule. A host of commentators speak in the same breath about the latest racetrack, boxing and baseball scores and how to slice up Korea, flatten Russia, what to do next with China, India, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Immersed in their own flood of words, hundreds of millions of people become to them mere pin-points on the map. All that is needed, they think, is a stooge and a dollar, a bomb and a blustering general, a base and a target, for the world to be delivered in care of the Chase National Bank.

At times, however, some of them awaken from their one-way dream, and begin to question the feasibility of exterminating hundreds of millions of people. Their plans are being exposed. A huge world peace movement and mass protests strait-jacketed them from dropping atom bombs on Korea. Moreover, their belief in the atom- and hydrogen-bomb monopoly turned into a phantasy. The world camp of socialism, they realize momentarily, can no longer be obliterated. And world rule, which had seemed so close at hand, becomes infinitely distant again.

As a result of these contradictions, some members of the American oligarchy oscillate between boisterous self-confidence and suicidal despair. On days when their generals and scientists assure them that "the job [of killing millions] can be done," their statements bounce with optimism. On other days, when the reports on atom-bomb efficiency are less promising, or when they realize that the people's forces may have equal or superior weapons, they are stricken with frustration and panic.

Similarly, the forecasts of Wall Street's economic experts swing back and forth between jovial serenades and litanies of doom. One day they warn that both inflation and deflation spell economic disaster, and predict crashes, slumps, and bankruptcies; the next, they sing hosannas to rising profits and "sustained production on the basis of war needs."

These manic-depressive moods and tendencies clearly reflect the discrepancy between their monstrous goals and the shrinking means at their disposal for attaining them. They fastened on many Washington leaders, especially after the December, 1950, defeat at the Yalu river, and the failure to conquer relatively small North Korea. "The U.S. is weak and complacent," wailed General of the Army George Marshall. "There is too much wringing of the hands in the U.S. today; there is too much crying that every decision is the final step to disaster," another Washington official said. A third was "highly optimistic," reported Bert Andrews in the *Herald Tribune* "after he looked at Eisenhower and the latest jet bomber." "The U.S. is terribly strong,"

shouted an air force general. "If India follows the Chinese example, it will mean disaster," warned a State Department official. Gloom came over them all when Air Secretary Vandenberg declared before a Congressional Committee that "the strategic air force cannot yet do the job" of "flattening Russia."

Decisive sections of the American ruling class are actively fostering a paranoid state of mind. Maurice B. Visscher, head of the Department of Physiology at the University of Minnesota declared in a talk before the American Association for the Advancement of Science: "Numerous supposedly patriotic organisations and individuals in the United States are displaying paranoiac behaviour. . . . Some have personal motives for falsifying issues; others are genuinely paranoiac. . . . The stigmata of insanity in the United States are unmistakable . . . We in this country are losing our minds as a result of our hallucinations, delusions of danger, and general withdrawal from reality."

A similar opinion was voiced on November 24, 1953, by Dr. George D. Stoddard, former president of the University of Illinois.

In an article entitled "*Why Washington Is Going Crazy*," Joseph Alsop described the atmosphere dominating the State Department, the Pentagon, and the rest of official Washington: "Neurotic fear and internal suspicion is seeping in over the nation's capital like some noxious effluvium from the marshy Potomac. Again and again those who live and work in Washington suddenly sense the miasma of fear and suspicion closing in like a dirty fog, obscuring the sun." He ascribed this creeping dementia to "the fear of betrayal from within and a devastating attack from without."

"Take them down," roared Admiral Standley, when he saw the stars of Bethlehem decorating California shops at Christmas. The orange color took on a red hue in his eyes. Red stars over the business centre! "There are Communists here," he fulminated in horror. Elsewhere, publishers were warned not to foster defeatist sentiments by printing maps

on which the territory of the Soviet Union was shown in red. On the floor of the Senate, Senator William E. Jenner shouted to the accompaniment of gallery applause, "I charge that this country is in the hands of a secret inner coterie which is directed by agents of Moscow. . . . Our only choice is to impeach President Truman and find out who is the secret invisible government which has so cleverly led our country down the road of destruction." *

From Projection to Delirium

Imperialists usually see historical events in reverse, as in a mirror. Workers who strike against starvation wages, for instance, are "unruly mobs" or "subversive scoundrels." But inverse reasoning does not change the inexorable course of reality. That something is wrong with the "free world" and its calculations, is frequently admitted even by its most vociferous defenders. Thus, Thomas E. Dewey declared: "The free world is now in the desperate position of a man who has gangrene in both legs, in Western Europe and in Asia. As a doctor, our government is telling the world that we have a very good cure for gangrene but we will apply it to one leg only while the gangrene in the other leg destroys the patient." Apart from the fact that the doctor himself is on the verge of collapse, the picture is essentially correct.

Through projection and mirror reasoning, dying imperialism attributes its convulsive spasms to external causes. Arms manufacturers see their insatiable hunger for billions of profits, their fear of an economic crash and bankruptcy, as "defence against Communist aggression." Terrified by the economic problems that would follow a peace settlement,

* Obviously, some of these statements were calculated to undermine the people's confidence in the "democratic" order and to pave the way for military-fascist rule. But they also reflected, to a lesser or greater degree, an actual mental state.

they regard peace as a "Communist trap." W. Averill Harriman challenged Eisenhower's policy of substituting the liberation programme for the containment policy. Eisenhower's programme, he warned, "encourages the Kremlin to be on the watch." He also challenged Eisenhower's assertion that "Russia wants us to go bankrupt through military spending." "On the contrary," he averred, "Russia wants a 1929 type of depression over here." Thus, since both inflation and deflation constitute dangers to the U.S. economy, each is mirrored as the planned policy of the USSR.

Many imperialists also regarded the Korean war in this light. With their claws clamped on the hills of Korea, they began to mirror-reason "Communist trickery." "The Chinese are simply intending to pin us down in Korea indefinitely without attempting to push us out," wrote Hanson Baldwin. "The Communists have pulled us in to bleed in Korea," declared some Congressmen. Since both peace and war in Korea spelled eventual defeat for them, they regarded *both* as forms of Communist strategy.

Hurling itself against the wall of its own contradictions, imperialism equates each of its failures with Soviet perspicacity. The camp of peace and socialism is led by wise and skilful leaders. The two opposites *do* form a temporary historical unity. Because of this, some American imperialists view their aggressive foreign policy as "nothing but the twitching reflex of the Soviets." Walter Lippmann wrote: "We are outnumbered in Korea now. But what is most serious is that we are in a diplomatic jam, where our adversaries in Asia can keep us endlessly entangled." Thus, the entanglers are not Wall Street's tentacles stretching to grab anything they can get hold of, but the peoples who resist their napalm embrace.

Through such projections, writers and spokesmen for imperialism foster a brutal cynicism in order to blunt or render impotent all moral indignation toward imperialist crimes. Time gnawing at their vitals, the decay of their social order, the mounting tensions tearing at their entire body politic—all this is pictured by them as a devilishly

contrived "Communist plot" While women and children were being slaughtered in savage air raids, the Wall Street press wrote, "The Koreans and Chinese have no sense of value of human life." While the cannibals reaffirmed their faith in burning human flesh, their puppet shouted, "I am warning Russia against the errors of Hitler."

Though drunk with power and money as never before, banker Brown of New York, trust chief Smith or billionaire Jones from Chicago, Pittsburgh or Dallas, trembles with apocalyptic visions of doom. He rages at Chinese peasants abolishing landlordism 8,000 miles away, at youth in Paris, Milan, Leningrad, or Bucharest singing of world peace and friendship. He sees them as the incarnation of monstrous evil. Women collecting peace signatures, workers demanding a livelihood instead of bombs and battleships, appear to him as fiendish conspirators. Cold sprays of reason seem to throw him into further fits of violence. Those who seek to restrain him through peace and disarmament offers he identifies with the dreadful ogres pursuing him. He is obsessed with an insane belligerence. The fixed idea, "We have got to bomb them," has become the *leitmotif* of the U.S. oligarchy's swan song.

Imperialist alienation from the world of reality, its escape into the world of illusion, and its final descent into unbridled violence are hastening the disintegration of its moribund social order. For a class so alienated works towards self-destruction.

For the same reason, Wall Street's illusions also constitute the biggest threat ever faced by mankind. Although objectively propelled by imperialism's general crisis and the mounting economic contradictions, the war drive is also sparked by the subjective state of mind of the imperialists. The men who carried on the three year long bombing of Korea are capable of anything. Their growing panic and blindness magnifies the danger that they may plunge mankind into war.

In the final analysis, only the collective reason, wisdom,

and unity of the world's peace forces, the power of humanity's growing and battling peace armies, can avert disaster. This offers the only possibility of hammering some reason into those sections of the Western ruling classes still not totally deranged, while applying straight-jackets to the others. Above all, it calls for a far more resolute, far more tenacious and diversified struggle on the part of America's own peace forces.

Chapter XII

Coexistence or Disaster

A THIRD WORLD WAR is not inevitable. With every passing day the might of the world's peace forces is rising. Because of their sustained and untiring efforts, the postponement and ultimate prevention of such a war now appears more possible than ever. The truce in Korea may initiate a series of further negotiations leading to a resumption of economic and political relations between East and West and to a general lowering of war tensions.

Sensing the anti-war sentiments of the American people even an Adlai Stevenson finally recommended that the U.S. take the initiative in new peace talks with the Soviet Union. "The door to the conference room is the door to peace," he declared on September 15, 1953. "Let it never be said that America was reluctant to enter that door."

But the clouds of the gathering storm will not disperse so long as atom- and hydrogen-bomb production is pushed onward, so long as Washington continues to ring the Soviet Union with bomber bases and U.S. economic "health" is tied up with the manufacture of armaments. So long as these conditions persist, any kind of Wall Street peace talk is for lulling the people into a false sense of security.

World peace will hang by a slender thread, so long as our nation is ruled by men who believe that they are accountable to no one but themselves.

The failures and difficulties encountered by the imperialists tend to make them more reckless. Their calculations and plans are marked by elements of desperation. "The Eisenhower government," wrote William Z. Foster, "in a desperate effort to cut its way out of its mounting insoluble

difficulties, may try to launch a World War through a putsch ... a kind of Pearl Harbour against the Soviet Union. It would be the greatest folly to ignore this serious danger."

"I have a sense of impending disaster and a sense of frustration," recently declared Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. After returning from an inspection of U.S. bases abroad, Senator Wayne Morse told the delegates at the C.I.O. convention in March 1953, "I do not scare easily, but I have come home a frightened man, frightened about this issue of peace, frightened because I believe that too many in the American military establishment have accepted the assumption that World War III is inevitable."

International murder cannot be prevented by appeals to the conscience of the murderers but by the roused anger of those to be murdered. The danger of World War III will remain until the American people turn in revulsion against the war plotters, until they take the issue of war and peace into their own hands and create a "peace offensive" of their own.

The eyes of peace-loving mankind are focussed upon America's workers and farmers, its youth and women. Anxious millions the world over are asking, "Where is the voice of America's common people?" Do Kansas farmers, Pittsburgh and Chicago steel workers, Detroit auto workers want to make war upon those of Moscow or Peking, Prague or Warsaw?

They ask these questions, knowing that though a nation's leaders may go mad, the common people always retain vast reserves of health and sanity.

Even today, the people of our country have not yielded to blind malice. There is still time to reassert the traditional fair-mindedness and decency of which the American people rightly boast.

There is still time to affirm a practical common sense approach to solving problems. It is still within the power of the American people to prevent the greatest calamity of all time.

In view of the magnitude of the looming catastrophe, why then are so many Americans so silent and complacent? Is it because they have lost faith in the effectiveness of the democratic process, of free discussion and inquiry? Is it because they fail to visualize what is in store for them in case of a Third World War?

Some, seeking to avoid the label of "subversive," are already afraid to ask these questions. But in this case, they must also be prepared to stop thinking, lest their thoughts reveal themselves in some spoken word or action. For how can any American, loyal to his country and its democratic traditions, still keep silent after he honestly thinks about this overall question of peace or war?

Who are America's Patriots

Our country, we are told, is in danger of imminent attack. Let us assume that we are actually threatened by an enemy as monstrous and ruthless as he is pictured. If so, there is nothing we can do but prepare ourselves for the worst. Now let us ask ourselves whether terror and the creation of a frenzied war psychosis are the best means for such preparation. Are threats and bullying the way to create strength?

Do not the very hysteria and panic which the war crusaders are attempting to create clearly indicate the falsity of the claims? If the United States were really threatened, would not a calm, simple statement of the fact arouse every American to rush to its defence?

Who are America's patriots? Are they those who say, "My country right or wrong?" Can we separate the vital interests of our own people from those of other lands? Can we talk of killing "50 million reds" without approving thereby the killing of 50 million Americans?

Are America's patriots those who spend billions on Francos and Chiangs, and call for Taft-Hartley injunctions, tear gas, and bullets when American workers

ask for a raise in wages? Are *they* patriots who pour out billions for the Hirohito assassins at Pearl Harbour, but hand out miserly dimes to American children ravished by infantile paralysis, heart disease, and other crippling diseases? Are *they* patriots who sent tens of thousands of our young men to their graves in Korea while boasting that Korean blood sustained their business profits?

Were Germany's patriots those who crawled before the Ruhr monopolists and their McCarthyites who grew rich on the misery of their people, or those who, despite all terror, continued to warn the German people against the consequences of a policy of war and aggression?

The Wall Street patriots loudly advertise their concern for the security of the American people. Under the slogan they spent from June 30, 1946 to January 1953, over \$240 billions. Most of it went to the armament kings. Some of it also lined the pockets of the Seoul, Madrid, London, Paris, and Bonn grafters and war speculators. But the housing, health, and educational facilities of the average American were slashed still further. Millions of Americans still live in basements, hovels, ghettos, and over-crowded slums. In 1951, 125 women and children were burned to death and 447 were severely injured in the firetrap tenements of New York City alone. "The greatest city in the world," reported a Brooklyn Grand Jury in February 1953, "is being permitted to deteriorate and decay." Families of six and seven and more, its survey showed, eat and sleep in one room, in dark, filthy cellars that defy description.

While advertising its concern for the world's backward people, Congress appropriates only negligible sums for protecting our soil, the nation's main wealth. According to noted soil experts, three billion tons of fertile topsoil are being annually washed away from our fields and pastures. "In the life of this country," declared Dr. H. H. Bennett, noted expert, "we have destroyed 282 million acres of land, crop and range land. Erosion is destructively active on 775 million additional acres." In Oklahoma and Texas, wrote Carey McWilliams, 75 per cent of the land is affected

by erosion. Annual floods bring ruin and devastation to hundreds of thousands of farmers along the course of many American rivers.

The United States needs at least 10 million homes at a cost of about \$100 billion. It needs at least another \$100 billion in schools, roads, parks, flood control, new hospitals, health, and sports facilities. Raising, the purchasing power of American workers by \$2,000 a year, an urgent and feasible objective, would create an additional yearly demand for goods to the tune of \$120 billion. Trade with 800 million people in the socialist sector of the world would provide American factories with tens of billions more in orders. "Lasting peace has been an economic need for a long time," wrote Brendan M. Jones, a conservative business analyst. "Bringing the huge Communist area with its resources and markets back into the area of normal international trade, would set off a commercial boom."

Yet the lie is foisted upon the American people that there is no alternative to war production and that stopping the flow of American guns to foreign lands would necessarily create widespread unemployment. Reflecting the peace sentiments of the American workers, even red-baiting Walter Reuther, right-wing president of the C.I.O., advised President Eisenhower that a depression is wholly unnecessary "because there are enough urgent needs within the U.S. and among the free peoples of the world to provide full employment for the next quarter of a century."

But the truth is that the trusts and their Reuther lackeys are utterly unconcerned about the "urgent needs" of the American people. Instead, the Eisenhower patriots claim that they are "worried" about "freedom" in North Korea, China or Viet Nam. Almost half a century ago, Mark Twain exposed these despoilers of America by referring to them as a gang "returning bedraggled, besmirched and dishonoured from pirate raids in Kiaochow, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines, with their souls full of meanness, pockets full of boodle and mouths full of pious hypocrisies."

When MacArthur was pressing for the immediate bombing of China, Senator Wayne Morse asked him, "Have you thought, General, what our casualty rate will be in Washington, D.C., in New York or the other cities of the U.S. if they put on atomic war, to say nothing of the American boys who are going to die in the air and sea?" MacArthur replied, "All those risks, I repeat, were inherent in the decision of the U.S. to go into Korea."

Whose decision? What constitutional or other provision gave a handful of Wall Street bankers and generals the right to lead America into a Third World War? Why must decision involving the fate of our nation be entrusted to men bloated with profits from two World Wars? Why could not delegates elected by farmers, workers, women, youth, professional, and small business organizations, people who represent the heart of America, meet with groups of Soviet citizens to work out a durable peace?

Poland, say the monopoly organs, is "our enemy"; Western Germany is "our friend." China and Czechoslovakia are "our enemies"; but Japan is "our friend." "Of course," they hasten to add, "it is not the people that we hate, but their system of government." But would North Korea have been bombed had its government informed John Foster Dulles that it agreed to turn over its mines to International Nickel and Anaconda Copper?

Indeed, should Poland or Hungary, China or Czechoslovakia announce tomorrow that they are willing to mortgage their railroads, telephones, and factories to Morgan, Harriman, or Kuhn Loeb, Washington would embrace them as champions of democracy and freedom. If the leaders of China would hand over their country's resources to the Rockefeller and Mellon trusts, then Japan, not China would become the enemy again.

Can men willing to trade the lives of millions of Americans for the oil and copper of the Balkans, for the zinc, lead, and coal of Poland, under the slogan of "liberating the people from Communist slavery"—can such men represent freedom and justice?

But "think of our security. Where will our security be if we stop arming?" our "protectors" keep telling us. But are the security and prosperity of the American people menaced because the profits of Rumanian oil fields no longer go to Sir Henry Deterding or Texas oil billionaires?

Must we threaten war and arm ourselves into bankruptcy because the castles of East European counts have been turned into workers' and children's vacation resorts?

"More bombs, more planes and the quieter we can sleep," we are told. But where is our security if both sides keep on producing bombs?

The Federal Civil Defence Administration listed 70 American cities with a combined population of 68 million as in danger of being wiped out in the case of a Third World War. Will it make any difference if one side or the other has five hundred or five thousand bombs? "In contrast to the situation in 1945," declared J. R. Oppenheimer, "it matters little that we are 'ahead' of the Russians. As the arms race increases, our vulnerability increases."

If the USSR were in truth our enemy, its chief reliance would be on the atomic weapon as the most effective means for laying waste and paralyzing our country. Then why doesn't Moscow declare with the brutal finality of Washington that it will use the atomic weapon whenever and wherever it pleases? Was Hitler afraid to bomb London because Berlin would be bombed in turn? Did mass murder or fear of retaliation ever stop a real aggressor?

If the Soviets were contemplating aggression, would they call for the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction? Would 91 million Soviet citizens, including all leaders and army men, have signed a pledge to brand any nation which first attacks any other nation with atom bombs as the criminal enemy of all mankind? Has any aggressor ever branded himself a criminal in advance?

Soviet insistence on world peace, we are told, is a Communist trick. The Russians, they tell us, are cunning monsters, asking for peace but actually planning aggression.

But only a people that knows nothing of full-scale war could imagine that the Soviet Union, where almost every family was lacerated by war losses, speaks insincerely. Even arch-enemies of the USSR admit that it is opposed to war. Moreover, the Soviet Union needs no war because it does not suffer from crises, and it has no classes or groups to whom armaments of war could provide any economic incentives.

What sinister purpose could there be behind the demand of the Soviet peoples that government leaders negotiate rather than unleash death upon our children? To be sure, it is possible to imagine two-faced ministers and diplomats. But can anyone conceive that the millions of plain Soviet workers and farmers are lying when they cry out to the American and other peoples, "Let us have peace"?

Are the Soviet leaders asking us to take them at their word? Not at all. They are announcing in the U.N. and before other world forums that they will permit an international commission to supervise the dismantling of their atom-bomb and other war factories, provided the United States does the same. Their proposals are immediately applicable. If we too are anxious for peace, why not test these offers by accepting them?

Stockpiled bombs have a tendency to go off by themselves, particularly at the moment when the arms depots begin bulging and their burden becomes unbearable. If we are to live, the bombs, ours as well as those of the Soviet Union, have to be destroyed. Does not the Soviet proposal to destroy the bombs now hold infinitely greater security for us than continuing to produce them?

In any case, what reason have we to believe that those to whom atomic-bomb production is a source of fabulous profits, those who call for dropping the bomb, are more to be trusted than those who call for its prohibition?

They Plead for Peace

The biggest and most dangerous delusion foisted upon the American people is that the United States can hit much harder than it can be hit, that it can crush the USSR by the sheer weight of armaments.

Let us recall the predictions of Washington's top experts that it would take Russia at least 20 years to turn out atom bombs, or MacArthur's assurance to Truman on Wake Island: "Only about 50,000 Chinese could cross the Yalu river, and they have no air force. . . . Those North Koreans I did not destroy by Thanksgiving, the cold weather would. Tell the boys when they reach the Yalu river, they are going to eat Christmas dinner at home."

Did not Korea teach us clearly enough that our leaders know nothing of the real strength of the other side, that we had better tame our own rivers instead of prowling around those of other countries?

Air Chief Vandenberg testified, "under the most favourable circumstances and with the strongest defence the United States could muster, not more than 20 per cent of an enemy's bomber force could be prevented from reaching its targets." But even if we ring the whole United States with countless gadgets and virtually quadruple the percentage cited by Vandenberg, the few planes that would get through could still turn our cities into wastelands.

Atom-bomb shelters, claim our "patriots," will reduce casualties. They omit to mention that shelters covered by mountains of rubble are death traps for mass entombment. No wonder many of these "patriots" are quietly preparing private hide-outs in remote parts of the country.

The generals, reported the United Press, "are setting up secret alternate military headquarters outside the capital for use if the Pentagon suffered damage by an enemy attack." But there are no alternate homes or cities for the common people.

"I do not believe," declared J. Robert Oppenheimer,

that we can take measures for the defence of our people, our lives, our institutions which will in any real sense be a permanent solution to the problem of the atom."

What is the power that our Pentagon and Wall Street speculators, with gun in one hand and ticker tape in the other, say they can conquer ?

The Soviet Union is a land of vast spaces, of 8.5 million square miles. It is 6,500 miles wide—more than the distance from the North Pole to the Equator. The length of its frontiers is one and a half times the earth's circumference.

On this great continent, extending from the Baltic to the Pacific, a generation of new people have created great new enterprises. Soviet workers and scientists are building and blueprinting with a daring and breadth of vision unequalled in history.

Every few hours a new factory is rising in the Soviet Union; every day hundreds of new inventions and labour-saving devices are introduced into Soviet industry. In primeval forests and hitherto slumbering regions from the Ural-Kuznetsk basin to Krasnoyarsk and Vladivostok, an area of many millions of square miles, hundreds of widely dispersed metallurgical and other industries are operating. Their workers are fired by the determination to build the richest life for themselves by constantly expanding production. The moral and material strength of this great people, steeled in the bitterest battles of this century, is inexhaustible.

This people pleads with us : Let us get rid of the bombs; let us make peace and build a better world instead. Daily, they stretch out their hands to us, offering us peace and friendship. They claim the right to peaceful existence, to make excavators, harvesters, tractors, instead of tanks.

They demand that the United States and the USSR drop their guns and meet instead to trade with one another, exchange experiences on how to build better cities, how to cure cancer, how to prolong human life, how to conquer deserts and arctic wastes. Let us compete, they say, in

raising standards of living instead of piling up death instruments.

In November 1945. Dean Acheson could still respond to these Soviet proposals by stating, "Never in the past has there been any place on the globe where vital interests of the American and Russian people have clashed or even been antagonistic, and there is no objective reason to suppose that there should now, or in the future, ever be such a place. For nearly a century and a half, we have gotten along well—remarkably well, when you consider that our forms of government, our economic systems and our special habits have never been similar. We are both continental people, with adequate living space—interested in developing and enjoying the living space we have. The hope of both nations lies in the cooperative enterprise of peace."

Earlier, Franklin D. Roosevelt wisely declared, "The kind of economy that suits the Russian people is their own affair. . . . The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war, but in laying the foundation for world peace."

Before the Die is Cast . . .

The men who hated Roosevelt and took over after he died think otherwise. They believe they can squeeze all the peoples of the world into their mould and compel them to follow their dictates. Ultimately, however, they will be forced to abandon their dreams of world conquest. Ultimately, we shall have to make peace and coexist on the same planet with social orders different from our own. Why not make an effort to do so now before we dye the rivers with the blood of our children, before we snuff out their lives on lonely far-away fields with endless white crosses, before we turn our cities into graveyards?

The latest estimate of the cost of World War II is the monstrous sum of four trillion dollars or about \$1,800 for

each member of the world's population. Of this, the ultimate cost to the United States alone comes to about one and a half trillion dollars, or enough to provide every American family with a new \$10,000 home, \$3,000 worth of furniture, a \$2,000 car, a country home worth \$6,000, plus \$14,000 in cash.

Such were the costs of the last war, given in a Library of Congress memorandum, inserted in the Congressional Record of August 26, 1951. But they do not include the 40 million lives taken by the war, the 13 million children orphaned in Europe alone. There are still close to a million blind, maimed, and mutilated children in Western Europe as a result of the last war.

The vast majority of the American people have never experienced the agonies of a real war. The destruction, the millions of casualties, were always somewhere else. The United States chalked up victories in the First and Second World Wars fighting not against, but *with* the Russians and the Chinese people, *with* the masses of Western Europe—and only after these peoples had bled the enemy to exhaustion and had paid for it with tens of millions of casualties.

It will be an altogether different kind of war, if we should fight *against* all these peoples. Multiplying the number of U.S. casualties in Korea by 200 might give some idea of the size of the "glittering victory" the Wall Street men would deliver to the American people in the first year of a Third World War.

This, indeed, is what our leaders are attempting to prepare us for. All their plans and activities are already filled with the stench of death. "The Federal Civil Defence Administration," reported the *Herald Tribune* on June 15, 1952, "is asking Congress for \$2,100,000 to stockpile a million shrouds. The officials," it wrote, "feel the first thing to do in an atomic war would be to get the bodies out of sight. If this were not done, the psychological effect on survivors would be bad. Graveyards are already being planned in some cities. Since twenty and three-quarter acres would be required to inter 40,000 persons ... large vacant tracts

in the suburbs," it reported, "are being set aside by some communities. Cities envision using parks as temporary burying grounds. New York is considering sending bodies up the Hudson River, by barge, using piers as morgues."

"We are members of a suicide club," wrote America's top war-maker, John Foster Dulles. But must the American people follow their rulers to the grave? Did the common people share the fate of dying dynasties, of their kings and monarchs? Must America perish because, in the words of Maxim Gorky, "An insignificant minority has become mentally senile and is rotting from fear of life and from the diseased, incurable thirst for profit"?

We fought a war against Hitler fascism in alliance with the Soviet Union. But we did not, on account of it, go Communist. A war against the Soviet Union, however, cannot be fought without Dachaus and Buchenwalds, without the United States going fascist. It cannot be fought without silencing every voice of reason and decency, without turning our youth into assassins, and the United States turning into a land of wild terror and brutality. There is no other way to commit that crime.

Business Week, a Wall Street organ, predicted: "Another war would be a grim and miserable business for everyone. There would be no compensations. . . . Living standards would go down, not up. Another thing we would have to do that was not done in World War II, is flatly to outlaw strikes, treat incitement to strike as treason. Civil rights of all kinds would take an awful beating, of course. That means that, just as in the case of strikes, all sorts of ordinarily innocent activities would become suspect. For instance, even useful and well-intentioned criticism of government operations would be hard to distinguish from treasonable agitation—and so would be choked off. . . . All the candy has been passed out now. This time there would be nothing left but the whip."

A war against the Soviet Union would be the imperialists' last war. Their bestiality would exceed even that of the Hitler fascists. They would be more ruthless, because

they would know that on losing, they would be judged not by fellow criminals, but by the wrath of all mankind. And men who rhapsodize about the mass extermination of men, women, and children in foreign lands through fire, cholera, and atom bombs, would not be a whit more tender toward the American people.

The People Must Act

War and fascism have not yet come to America, but things are already shaping up for both to be sprung on the American people. The shadows of the night of death and violence, which the monopolists wish to bring upon America, are already lengthening.

If we fail to save the peace now, there will come the day, as certain as tomorrow's sunrise, when the peoples of the world will ask each one of us: Why didn't you prevent this abominable disaster?

How, they will demand, could a few evil men throw fear into the hearts of millions, and lead them like sheep to the slaughter? Where, they will ask, was our vaunted American practicality, independence, common sense, and courage?

Nor will excuses for our failure to act acquit us of responsibility in the eyes of the world. The German answer, "We didn't know," will no longer suffice. For we were warned.

The hour is late, but there is still time. Time to understand who is poisoning us with hate in order to lure us into servitude. Time to shake off timidity, moral flabbiness, fear, and narrow personal consideration. Time to reassert our democratic right to let peace win for America.

Here are the questions no loyal American can escape: Can we preserve our democratic heritage, can peace be maintained without a militant struggle against the trusts?

Can the American people coexist with a class to whom world rule has become the condition for its further existence?

Are the days of our people, which are endless, to be measured by those of the trusts, which are numbered?

Must the veins of the nation be split wide open to prolong the life of the money dynasties?

The answer was given by all those who forged America's democratic traditions, from the days of Tom Paine, Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, to those of the Populist movement and the Roosevelt New Deal. The answer was given by those who led the struggle for the Bill of Rights, for Negro freedom, for the right of workers to strike and organize, for the eight-hour workday, for abolishing child labour, for the priority of human above property rights. The issue in each case was the interests of the nation against those of the money oligarchy.

The answer was given by the fearless abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison in 1831, when he warned the nation against the bloody designs of the Southern slave rulers. He wrote: "Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm ... tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present."

The answer was given fifty years ago by Mark Twain who wrote, "You see, my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office holders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, it is the thing to watch over and care for and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from the winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—this is loyalty to unreason, it is pure animal. ... The citizen who thinks he sees that the Commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit is disloyal; he is a traitor."

The great masses of America, all of us who work to

make ours a better and happier land, hold the undisputed right to save it from those who seek to wreck it. This struggle against the vested interests is not new to American history. America's workers and farmers supported the anti-monopoly campaigns of John P. Altgeld, Eugene V. Debs, William Jennings Bryan, and the elder Robert M. LaFollete.

The monopolists labelled these men "dangerous radicals." The "dangerous radicals" of today call for ending the "divine right" of the trusts to lead us into war and fascism.

To survive, the people of America must act. They must, without delay, insist on a policy of peace with the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies, and with the peoples of the entire world.

We must rise in support of our genuine patriots, of the men and women who endure hunger and prison rather than betray the American people, of those who would rather pay with their own lives than see America ravaged and destroyed.

We must rally to the support of every other American championing the cause of peace and coexistence—be he a Republican, Democrat, Progressive or Communist, worker or capitalist. The proposal by Ernest T. Weir, Chairman of the National Steel Corporation, that "we should enter the meeting [with the USSR] with open minds, in a spirit of give and take, prepared to negotiate a peace on a fair and honourable basis," calls for the support of every patriotic American.

Should the Democratic Party heed the people's anti-war sentiments and adopt a policy based on peace and coexistence, it would unquestionably again obtain the support of the vast majority of the American people.

The gravest responsibility rests upon America's workers. For it is within their power to compel our rulers to abandon the war programme and replace it by one of peace and coexistence.

United action by left- and right-wing unions, by Negro

and white workers, on a programme of full employment through higher wages, trade with the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies, cessation of the armament race, large-scale construction of homes and schools, flood control, road building and other public works projects, could make world peace a reality.

America's workers, those who make the tools of life as well as death, can still emerge in this crucial hour as the saviours of America's democratic heritage and as the guardians of everything they have built through centuries of labour. No war is possible without their consent.

Never before was a people regarded by humanity with more hope and anxiety than the American people today.

By seizing the historical opportunity and winning the sublime struggle for peace, the American people will gain the lasting gratitude and friendship of all mankind.

In the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The American people have a rendezvous with destiny."

Let that destiny be peace.



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